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DOCTOR OF PHILOSOPHY

The Lass o' Pairs

Social mobility for women through education in Scotland, 1850-1901.

McCall, Alison Taylor

Award date:
2013

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UNIVERSITY OF DUNDEE

**The Lass o' Pairs:
Social mobility for women through education in Scotland,
1850-1901.**

Alison Taylor McCall

**A thesis submitted in partial fulfilment of the requirements for
the award of the degree of Doctor of Philosophy**

September 2013

Abstract

This thesis examines education and opportunity for girls and young women in mid to late Victorian Scotland. The study involves analysis of girls' educational opportunities, and an examination of the career and life options available to those who had successfully accessed education to discover whether there was a so-called 'lass o' pairts' - a woman who was able, regardless of her social background, to achieve upward social mobility through educational opportunity and career advancement.

This aim was achieved by examining the lives of women at various stages, through school, pupil teacherships, training college, and teaching. Teaching offered women a structured profession, with recognised qualifications and the possibility of promotion. During the period 1850-1901, tens of thousands of young Scottish women sat the Entrance examination to Teacher Training College. To get a representative cross-section of Scottish society, five diverse areas were chosen; Kildonan, Loth and Clyne in east Sutherland, Aberdeen, Dundee, Edinburgh and Govan. Sources such as examination results lists and school board minutes were cross-referenced with census returns to identify the social origins of the girls and women. This confirmed previous research that teachers were drawn largely from the skilled working classes and lower middle classes. Careers were tracked through School Board records of appointments and promotions, whilst social mobility was simultaneously tracked through census returns. Other primary sources used included newspapers, student newspapers and the *Educational News*, the journal of the E.I.S.

Within Scotland, the existence of a separate education for Roman Catholics enabled comparison with the state system and conclusions regarding the two parallel systems to be drawn.

The thesis concludes that girls and women could and did access education and careers, which conferred upward social mobility, well-paid jobs and social status.

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Acknowledgements

Firstly, I would like to thank my supervisors, Prof. Callum Brown and Prof. Perry Willson. Perry convinced me to move my research from “kitchen table” passionate interest to formal research, for which I am hugely grateful. Perry and Callum have been consistently encouraging and only intermittently despairing.

I would also like to thank the members of Women’s History Scotland, past and present, for their constant encouragement and kindness since I first joined WHS in May 2002.

I am grateful for the encouragement of my PhD predecessor Dr Sarah Browne.

My fellow PhD students, Eddie Small, Laura Paterson and Blair Smith, and fellow M.Litt students Ruth, Shivani, Nel and Gavin.

I have been a member of Aberdeen & North East Scotland Family History since 1984; I am grateful to many members, too many to list individually, for their comradeship over the years. I would particularly like to acknowledge Jean Shirer and Gay Murton.

I would like to thank Lis Smith, St Andrews University; Lindy Moore; Jane McDermid, Southampton University; Stuart Donald, Archivist for the Episcopalian church in Aberdeen; Dr Kenneth Baxter, Dundee University and Dr. Christine Joy, School Archivist, Manchester School for Girls, for their helpful correspondence.

I would like to acknowledge the following individuals who shared information from their own family histories; Rob McFarlane (re the five McFarlane cousins), John Collins (re the Tomory family) and Pat Oakes and David Murie (re Margaret Bella and Jessie Kidd).

I would like to thank the staff of Aberdeen Central Library, Aberdeen Archives, Aberdeen University Special Collections, Highland Archives, Inverness, Timeline, Helmsdale, Dundee University Archives, Dundee City Archives, Dundee Library Local Collection, Edinburgh City Archives, and the Mitchell Library for their help.

For all those who supported me on the “Thesis Support” thread on A Certain Web Community. You know who you are, even if I don’t.

My friends, Catherine Johnstone and Ann MacRae Scullion, are always there for me.

Finally, John, Alexander and Lucy, the joy of my life, my heart’s delight.

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List of acronyms

E.I.S – Educational Institute of Scotland

F.E.I.S. – Fellow of the Educational Institute of Scotland.

I.C.W. – International Council of Women

S.P.C.K. - Society for the Promotion of Christian Knowledge



'Education' motif from front of South Bridge School, Edinburgh. This motif was also used on other schools built by Edinburgh School Board. Photograph by Alison McCall.

Introduction.

This thesis examines education and opportunity for girls and young women in mid to late Victorian Scotland. The starting date of 1850 was chosen as the earliest date from which it is feasible to trace social mobility through the decennial census returns. The first census which recorded individual names was in 1841, and therefore by 1850 children starting school would have been born after the start of the census. The end date of 1901 was chosen as the end of the Victorian era.¹ The time period of fifty one years is sufficient to trace lives through education and employment. A shorter period would have been insufficient. The period is almost bisected by the Education (Scotland) Act 1872, which will be discussed later. One of the implications of the chosen period is that the impact of university education is excluded from this thesis, as the first women graduated from Scottish Universities in 1896, and it was not, therefore, possible to follow their subsequent careers. The majority of this study will involve analysis of girls' educational opportunities, and will then examine the career and life options available to those who had successfully accessed education. Underlying this examination will be a bigger question; was there a so-called 'lass o' pairts', a woman who was able, no matter her social background, to achieve upward social mobility through educational opportunity and career advancement? Did the Scottish concept of educational opportunity, claimed as intrinsic to Scottish culture, extend to women, and if not, why not?

Such a study stands at the intersection of gender with nationality, further complicated by class differences. The extent to which the class system in Victorian Scotland was synonymous with, or differed from, the class system in other parts of Britain has been debated, but is outwith the scope of this thesis. I would argue that events such as the Disruption² (which will be examined subsequently) created a distinctively Scottish aspect to class relations and social mobility. All references to class and social mobility in this thesis are within a Scottish context. If women were excluded from the common lad o' pairts narrative, which we examine shortly, did that make them less

¹ 1901, the conclusion of the Victorian era, was chosen in preference to 1900, the conclusion of the nineteenth century for the purely pragmatic reason to include the 1901 census.

² The split of the Church of Scotland into the Church of Scotland and the Free Church of Scotland in 1843.

‘Scottish’? If they were included, where are they in the history books? Virginia Woolf famously claimed; ‘As a woman I have no country. As a woman I want no country. As a woman my country is the whole world.’³ And yet, many of the iconic images of Scotswomen in the early twentieth century, images of women who had been born and educated in the late nineteenth century, suggest a strong identification with Scotland, whether it be the suffragettes marching down Princes Street in 1909 under a banner which read ‘A Gude Cause Maks a Strong Arm’ or the tartan trimming on Elsie Inglis’ uniform. Education and Scottish identity are closely entwined; in this thesis I hope to weave gender into the twist, too. The aim is to answer some big questions about what it was to be female within the Scottish educational system and what it was to be a Scottish female within the educational system; the two questions being subtly different.

This study will be based on tracing women through the educational system to social advancement and careers. There is really no significant alternative method by which to test women’s place in the social mobility through education in a nation where, broadly, no corpus of case studies or evidence yet exists. The means used, utilising school records and census returns, has only become possible in recent years with the computerisation of census returns, making it feasible to cross-reference individual women from, for example, an examination pass-list, with census returns which reveal their social background. Five geographical areas – Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Dundee, Govan⁴ and part of East Sutherland⁵ – have been selected from across Scotland to provide some reasonable test of representativeness. These areas, and the methodology, will be explained in Chapter One and thereafter.

In this introduction, I am going to look initially at the concept of the ‘lad o’ pairts’ as expounded by various writers in the late nineteenth century and early twentieth century. I will then examine the academic debate, initiated by Anderson, surrounding the actual or mythical existence of the ‘lad’ and the effect that the concept has had on the

³ Woolf, Virginia, *A Room of One’s Own and Three Guineas*, OUP, 1992, p. 313.

⁴ The area administered by Govan School Board, which covered the western suburbs of Glasgow, both north and south of the Clyde.

⁵ The parishes of Kildonan, Loth and Clyne.

Scottish psyche, which is referred to in many general Scottish histories, such as that by Devine.⁶ Corr introduced a gender argument to the debate which was then developed by McDermid and Moore. I am going to examine this gendered argument, in which the issues are; did women assimilate the concept of the opportunity as exemplified by the ‘lad’ and, if so, whether this affected women positively or negatively?

The lad o’ pairts

The classic definition of the ‘lad o’ pairts’ is a boy of humble rural origins whose early academic promise was spotted and nurtured by the local schoolmaster, himself a graduate, in a parochial school, who was able to go to the local university, graduate with honours and gain an esteemed post in the Empire, the professions or academia. Many definitions add details such as the lad’s struggle with poverty, living on a diet largely composed of oatmeal, his struggle with ill-health, and the pride a whole community took in its lad. Poignancy may be added by the early death of the lad. Early death in Victorian times was not, of course, confined to the lad. An article on Manchester High School for Girls⁷ tells the tale of one former pupil, Annie Eastwood, ‘The admission record of another includes half a page of her exam successes and then a note that she became one of the first women students at Manchester University. She died in her first year there aged twenty.’ This young lady was the antithesis of the lad –urban, middle-class, English and *female* – but yet her life story and the poignant twist at the end of her tale is the same.⁸

Certainly, in the late nineteenth century, many of those who were most closely involved in education either believed in the concept or cherished it as an ideal. The Programme of the Educational Congress of the Educational Institute of Scotland (E.I.S.) held in Aberdeen in 1896 carried the following;

In all the North of Scotland, and especially in Aberdeenshire and Banffshire, there was not a family, however humble, whose heads might not cherish the desire to send at

⁶ Devine, T.M. *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007*, Penguin Books, 2006

⁷ Joy, Christine, ‘Manchester High School for Girls’, *Herstoria* Issue 4, Winter 2009, p. 46.

⁸ Christine Joy has kindly e-mailed me further details of Annie Eastwood’s school record.

least one ‘lad o’ pairts’ to the University, in the hope of one day seeing him ‘wag his pow in a poopit!’ And each October saw a little army of young intellectual gladiators swoop down upon Aberdeen, some carrying the proverbial bag of oatmeal in the crook of a hazel stick; some walking forty miles to join in that intellectual tug of war, yclept the Bursary Competition.⁹

Those reading this were at the chalk-face of teaching in 1896, although it was written in the context of a convivial Congress, rather than as a piece of searching analysis. It was, therefore, written to please and not to challenge. It is interesting that this account of Scottish educational history was regarded as pleasing and entertaining to Scotland’s teachers. However the ideal was often seen as representing a previous golden age. As early as 1876, the Marquis of Huntly, addressing the Social Science Congress in Liverpool, referred to the ‘very wise and grand’ conception of the old Scottish parish school where the ‘boy of humble origin’ received an education which ‘could qualify him to pass direct from it to the University’ a concept which he argued had been swept away by ‘all the regulations under which the teacher is compelled to work.’¹⁰

As late as 1969 histories of Scottish education, such as Scotland’s two volume *The History of Scottish Education* comment uncritically on the ‘lad.’¹¹ Scotland’s section on ‘General Influence of the Parish Schools’¹² lists several successful men; although his inclusion of brothers William Robertson Smith and George Michie Smith is odd as their father had been a teacher prior to becoming a Free Church minister. Their background may have been rural, but it was not impoverished.¹³ George M. Smith may not have had the ‘lad’s’ humble background, but he did conform to the stereotype by dying young. This is one example of the way in which the points of resemblance to the classic definition could be emphasised and the points of divergence glossed over. James

⁹ Official Guide and Programme; Congress of the Educational Institute of Scotland at Aberdeen 29th and 30th December 1896.

¹⁰ *Aberdeen Weekly Journal*, 18 October 1876, p. 2.

¹¹ Scotland, James, *The History of Scottish Education* University of London Press Ltd. 1969, Vol I p. 69.

¹² Scotland, James, *The History of Scottish Education* University of London Press Ltd. 1969, Vol I p.205.

¹³ Booth, Gordon, “Home Education: A Victorian Case Study” in Northcroft, D. ed, *North East Identities and Scottish Schooling* Elphinstone Institute, University of Aberdeen 2005.

Scotland¹⁴ concludes ‘Although only one-eleventh of Scotland’s population went to school, the road to the top for an able, ambitious ‘lad o’pairts’ was recognised to be open.’¹⁵ His only quibble is that the temptation for a clever master to neglect all but the brighter pupils ‘was often too strong.’¹⁶ The penultimate concluding paragraph of Scotland’s *History* affirms;

The sentimental image of Scottish educational democracy, personified in the lad of parts who was to become a colonial governor or a university principal or a law lord may be idealised through an intellectual soft-focus lens. But there were many lads of parts, and they did attain eminence, and it was easier for a Scottish boy to reach a university than for his brothers in most countries of the western world.¹⁷

This uncritical assessment was subsequently qualified by subsequent historians. Devine states that a sample of university students taken by the Argyll commission in the 1860s, showed that there was ‘a considerable ‘working-class’ group, though it consisted overwhelmingly of the sons of skilled workers and artisans such as carpenters, shoemakers and masons.’¹⁸ He quotes Anderson ‘neither the rural poor nor the majority of factory workers, nor the unskilled workers in the towns, had more than a token representation.’¹⁹ Devine concludes ‘The lads o’ pairts clearly existed, but they were few and far between.’²⁰ Paterson also points out the limitations on the extent of the lad;

The apex of the parish school was the lad of parts, the boy (never a girl) of academic talent who was lucky enough to possess the physical stamina, moral qualities and parental support (as well as one of the minority of gifted teachers available) necessary to carry him to some mastery of subjects, such as mathematics, Latin, Greek, French

¹⁴ James Scotland himself, raised in Dennistoun, and ultimately Principal of Aberdeen College of Education and prolific playwright has been described as an “authentic urban lad o’ pairts” See Northcroft, David, *Aberdeen’s Man for All Seasons* Leopard Magazine, August 2004.

¹⁵ Scotland, James, *The History of Scottish Education* University of London Press Ltd. 1969, Vol I, p. 205.

¹⁶ Ibid .

¹⁷ Scotland, James, *The History of Scottish Education* University of London Press Ltd. 1969, Vol II, p.275.

¹⁸ Devine, T.M. *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007*, Penguin Books, 2006, p. 409.

¹⁹ Anderson, R. *Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland*, Clarendon Press, 1983, p. 152.

²⁰ Devine, T.M. *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007*, Penguin Books, 2006, p. 409.

and history at school level, and directly at an early age, into one of Scotland's universities.²¹

It is interesting that Paterson points out the exclusion of girls from the traditional 'lad' terminology; Humes and Paterson's index contains no entries under 'women' or 'female', includes the helpful entry 'teachers - see also schoolmasters' and this, the solitary index entry under 'girls' proves to be preceded by 'never a.' In fairness, the volume does include an article on the feminisation of the teaching profession by Helen Corr²², indexed under 'teaching, feminisation of' rather than 'feminisation' but this article, too, emphasises the negatives. It would seem that there has been a move from the gender-blind Scotland to Humes and Paterson attempting to see women in the manner of Nelson looking for a signal.

Anderson developed the investigation of the concept of the 'lad' as Scottish myth. He has pointed out that;

Questions of national and regional identity are currently a fashionable topic, but the distinctiveness of Scottish education has been seen as a mark of Scottish identity for at least two hundred years. It is held to be more developed, or more democratic, or at least different in various ways, especially of course from English education.²³

Anderson believes that the 'lad o' pairts' is a myth, but argues 'myths are not just fictions, but crystallisations of reality which can have a positive effect on those paths of development which are chosen or avoided.'²⁴ He suggests that 'most observers agree that the myth of the lad of parts corresponds to some underlying reality, albeit idealised.'²⁵

²¹ Paterson, H.M. "Incubus and Ideology: the Development of Secondary Schooling in Scotland 1900-1939" in Humes, W.M. and Paterson H.M. *Scottish Culture and Scottish Education 1800-1980*, John Donald Publishers Ltd, 1983.

²² Corr, Helen, "The Sexual Division of Labour in the Scottish Teaching Profession 1872-1914", in Humes, W.M. and Paterson H.M. *Scottish Culture and Scottish Education 1800-1980*, John Donald Publishers Ltd, 1983, pp. 137-150.

²³ Anderson, R.D. "Northern Identities and the Scottish Educational System" in Northcroft, D. ed, *North East Identities and Scottish Schooling* Elphinstone Institute, University of Aberdeen 2005, p. 15.

²⁴ *ibid*

²⁵ Anderson, R. D. *Scottish Education since the Reformation* E & S History Society of Scotland 1997, p 53.

Anderson points out that the ideal ‘was not incompatible with retaining a rather mediocre education for those who were not selected.’²⁶ Anderson’s view is echoed by Northcroft, who believes that a ‘myth’, in this sense, emerges as the story which a community tells itself in order to keep in view those principles which best define its highest aspirations.²⁷ Similarly McCrone describes the lad o’ pairts as ‘the key social icon of late nineteenth and early twentieth century Scotland.’²⁸ When seen as a social icon, the numbers matter less – then as now it was the power of the belief that it could happen. Today, serious journalists declaim about the effect of the ‘cult of celebrity’ on a generation of impressionable teenage wannabe celebrities. A very few success stories can create a belief that, to quote another modern success story Duncan Bannatyne ‘Anyone can do it.’²⁹ Similarly, the existence of a small number of ‘lads’ could form the basis of a belief that any schoolboy had the opportunity of academic and career success.

Paterson and Fewell claim that;

there is a need to recognise that it is no accident that the personification of this (national) identity is male: the lad o’ pairts, the dominie, the honours graduate. Indeed, it is a measure of the entrenchment of attitudes that it has taken until very recently for this to be pointed out. Standard texts on Scotland rarely refer specifically to women and girls, and when they do, the assumption is that the education of girls involves simply a slight variation on the central male educational theme.³⁰

Knox explains this away;

The education of women has, admittedly, except at the University level, not played anything like so great a part in the history of Scottish education as did the nineteenth

²⁶ Anderson, R. ‘In Search of the “Lad of Parts”: the Mythical History of Scottish Education’, *History Workshop Journal* 19, 1985 pp.82-104.

²⁷ Northcroft, D. *Scots at School* E.U.P. 2003, p. 8.

²⁸ McCrone, D. *Culture, Nationalism and Scottish Education: Homogeneity and Diversity* in Bryce, T.G.K. and Humes, W. *Scottish Education: post devolution*, E.U.P 2003, p. 241.

²⁹ Bannatyne, Duncan, *Anyone Can Do It: My Story*, Orion, 2006.

³⁰ Paterson, Fiona and Fewell, Judith, *Girls in their Prime: the Scottish Educational Tradition*, Scottish Academic Press 1990, p. 3.

century movement in favour of it in the development of education in England... This is no doubt to be accounted for by the co-educational nature of the instruction provided in the parish and many of the smaller burgh schools.³¹

So, the existing historiography has been largely sceptical on the existence of the lass. However, the concept of the social icon raises the question – if the ‘lad’ is a cherished Scottish myth, encapsulating an idealised concept of Scottishness, what is the impact on national identity? Abrams and Breitenbach state that ‘It has become a commonplace to say that Scottishness is typically embodied in major institutions such as the law, the church and the education system.’³² Part of the ‘Scottishness’ embodied within the education system is a belief in the egalitarian nature of Scottish society. McCrone claims that the ‘generic Scottish myth of egalitarianism has at its core the iconography of the lad o’ pairs, and is the key to explaining why educational values appear so central to a sense of Scottish culture.’³³ This is a big claim, but one that is made by several writers. Devine claims that;

For the Scots in the nineteenth century, education was much more than a matter of learning, instruction and scholarship. It had become a badge of identity, a potent symbol of Scottishness and one of the ways in which a sense of nationhood was preserved. ...Schooling promoted identity through the structures of education rather than through the subject matter taught in the curriculum... In Scotland it was believed that social barriers did not obstruct the path to success of the ‘lad o’ pairs.’³⁴

Allied to the ‘lad’ is the concept of the democratic intellect; a phrase popularised by George Davie³⁵, although Davie’s meaning had more to do with the university curriculum than issues of social mobility. Nevertheless the phrase has been coupled to the

³¹ Knox, H.M. *Two hundred and fifty years of Scottish education 1696-1946*, Oliver and Boyd, 1953, Edinburgh, pp. 124-5.

³² Breitenbach, Esther, and Abrams, Lynn, “Gender and Scottish Identity”, in Abrams, L, Gordon, E, Simonton, D, Yeo, E.J. (eds) *Gender in Scottish History since 1700* EUP 2006, p. 27.

³³ McCrone, D. “Culture, Nationalism and Scottish Education: Homogeneity and Diversity” in Bryce, T.G.K. and Humes, W. *Scottish Education: post devolution* E.U.P, 2003 ,p242

³⁴ Devine, T.M. *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007* Penguin Books, 2006, p. 389.

³⁵ Davie, George, *The Democratic Intellect; Scotland and her Universities in the 19th Century*, EUP, 1961.

lad o' pairts. Indeed, just as the lad is regarded as a myth, so too does Anderson ask 'Is the 'democratic intellect' a myth?'³⁶ and argues that 'the democratic myth could have a potent and creative political role.'³⁷

Given that the concept of the lad o' pairts is central to Scottish national identity; it seems pertinent to discover how it was regarded by the half of Scotland's population who could never be 'lads.' Did girls regard themselves as part of the myth, in the same way that urban or middle-class schoolboys might overlook the generally rural or working class aspect? Or did they place themselves within the 'supportive community' encouraging their brothers, sons or neighbours to achieve, basking in the reflected glory a successful lad brought to their community? Or did they feel themselves excluded altogether? What effect did this have? Although middle class boys may have subsumed themselves within this myth, in this thesis I will examine only girls from the working class or lower middle class associated with the myth. As a result, it will be outwith the scope of this thesis to examine girls from middle class schools, including most secondary schools. Higher Grade schools were developed from 1878, but again, these are outwith the scope of this thesis. There was no Higher Grade School in East Sutherland prior to 1901, and the Higher Grade Schools in Aberdeen, Dundee, Govan and Edinburgh were regarded as catering to the middle classes.³⁸

Anderson claims that 'even when meritocratic concepts challenged class barriers, they hardly acknowledged those of gender.'³⁹ Was the barrier simply accepted by all? Corr argues that 'The myth of the democratic intellect is firmly identified with males and there is no equivalent of the concept of the 'lass o' pairts'. By definition therefore, girls

³⁶ Anderson, R. D. *Scottish Education since the Reformation* E & S History Society of Scotland, 1997, p.17.

³⁷ Anderson, R. D. *Scottish Education since the Reformation* E & S History Society of Scotland, 1997, p. 36.

³⁸ See, for example, Anderson, R.D. *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918*, Clarendon Press, 1995, p188.

³⁹ Anderson, R. D. *Scottish Education since the Reformation*, E & S History Society of Scotland 1997, p.54.

must have had a distinctive identity from boys in the Scottish educational structure.’⁴⁰ If so, apart from needlework and cookery, it seems that for Scottish historians it is a largely invisible separate identity. And indeed the invisibility of the separate identity is commented on by several others, most notably Moore in her paper – ‘Invisible scholars: Girls learning Latin and mathematics in the elementary public schools of Scotland before 1872.’⁴¹ Moore suggests that some girls were invisible because the use of generalisations about school pupils in original sources seldom reveals how many, if any, pupils were female. Indeed, like Knox, she suggests that it is precisely this invisibility, created by the non-distinction of gender in original sources, which has created a significant lack of research into the gendered nature of Scottish education.

The approach to the possibility of the lass o’ pairts rests within a wider gendered condition of Scottish history writing. Breitenbach and Gordon comment;

The lack of visibility of women in Scottish history up till now is not a result of their absence from political, social or public life. It is a result of the blindness of historians to the significance of women’s experience...even historians who are apparently sympathetic to the problem of women’s lack of visibility betray the assumption that women’s natural status was one of anonymity...But the women regarded as anonymous were not so in their own time. Many women spent years in active struggle to break down limits imposed on their lives, participated in important areas of public life, and were well known to their contemporaries.⁴²

This comment seems particularly pertinent to those women who became school teachers and headmistresses; they would have been well known to their contemporaries, and significant figures in the community. And yet, they have become largely invisible in

⁴⁰ Corr, H. ‘Dominies and Domination: Schoolteachers, Masculinity and Women in 19th century Scotland’, *History Workshop Journal*, 1995.

⁴¹ Moore, Lindy, ‘Invisible scholars: Girls learning Latin and mathematics in the elementary public schools of Scotland before 1872’, *History of Education Journal*, Vol 13, No. 2, June 1984.

⁴² Breitenbach, E. and Gordon E, (eds) *Out of Bounds; Women in Scottish Society 1800-1945*, EUP, 1992, pp. 2-3.

today's history books. Reynolds cites the example of Lady Ishbel Aberdeen, president of the International Council of Women (ICW);

Lady Aberdeen has left plenty of traces in the record – she is not at all anonymous and obscure. Yet she is rather hidden from history and can be part of a straightforward recovery programme – along the line of thought that is sometimes known as the ‘women worthies’ tradition.’⁴³

If the ‘lass o’ pairts’ was merely hidden, it should be possible to undertake just such a recovery programme, and I hope to do just that in this thesis. Reynolds, however, points out the limitations of this approach. She goes further and suggests that a more comprehensive study of movements rather than individuals is also limited. Instead, she argues for no less than a thorough reappraisal of topics from the point of view of gender; ‘In other words the *presence* or *absence* of one or the other sex, and the power relations on which that may depend, need to be analysed at every level.’⁴⁴ Thus, if a ‘recovery programme’ fails to recover evidence of a ‘lass o’ pairts’ then that in itself may be significant; although it would rather tend to confirm only what many suppose to be true. Several writers do argue that such girls were not invisible, nor hidden, but non-existent. Devine states ‘The belief developed...that the Scottish system was both meritocratic and democratic, resting on a ladder of opportunity which ascended from the famous parish schools through to the universities and enabled the ‘lad o’ pairts’ (never girls) to climb towards academic and material success.’⁴⁵ This is echoed by McCrone ‘note there is no lass o’ pairts in this pervasive myth: getting on is for boys to do.’⁴⁶

⁴³ Reynolds, Sian, “Historiography and gender: Scottish and international dimensions” in Brotherstone, T, Simonton, D, and Walsh, O, (eds) *Gendering Scottish History; an International Approach*, Cruithne Press, 1999, p. 10

⁴⁴ Reynolds, Sian, “Historiography and gender: Scottish and international dimensions” in Brotherstone, Simonton and Walsh, (eds) *Gendering Scottish History; an International Approach* Cruithne Press, 1999, p. 13.

⁴⁵ Devine, Tom, *A Democratic Intellect? The Scottish tradition in historical perspective*. ” The annual Stow lecture at Strathclyde University. As reported by McLeod, Muriel, in the *Times Educational Supplement* 24 Mar 2000 (*Scots at School* p14)

⁴⁶ McCrone, D. “Culture, Nationalism and Scottish Education: Homogeneity and Diversity” in Bryce, T.G.K. and Humes, W. *Scottish Education: post devolution*, E.U.P, 2003, p.240.

Moore's conclusion is that;

Herein is encapsulated, on the one hand, the democratic tradition of Scottish education, which encouraged easier access to the higher branches of education and, on the other, a Presbyterian tradition which stamped women as second class citizens. Scottish girls were less likely to be sent to school than boys, they stayed a shorter time, proportionally fewer studied each successive stage of education and many of them were sent to separate schools, outside the parochial system, where they were taught by academically inferior schoolmistresses offering a restricted choice of subjects. But *if* the parents of a girl attending a mixed sex school did want her to learn more than the 3 Rs she could progress (via grammar and geography) to Latin and French because the schoolmaster would already be teaching these subjects to a few of the boys. Such schooling would not normally be the result of any positive encouragement of secondary education for girls *per se* but of a wider and older tradition that the 'higher branches' should be made available to all school pupils.⁴⁷

Moore's point about girls being invisibly subsumed within the much larger mass of male pupils is important. However, McDermid's comment seems reasonable: 'Women contributed not simply to the preservation of the educational myth, but also to the reshaping of it, so that it included girls and women, thus giving substance to the claim of universality, and allowing at least a minority of working-class girls to benefit from the meritocracy.'⁴⁸ As Abrams says, 'We do not suggest that the inclusion of women's experience alone upsets these myths. Indeed there are instances where women collude with them, or at least find elements of them with which they identify..⁴⁹ This is a good point; if it appears, as Moore's work suggests, that girls have been invisible rather than absent, then it would suggest that those girls whose studies went further than elementary subjects could find elements of the myth with which they identified. Northcroft

⁴⁷ Moore, Lindy, 'Invisible scholars: Girls learning Latin and mathematics in the elementary public schools of Scotland before 1872', *History of Education Journal* Vol 13, No. 2, June 1984, p. 136.

⁴⁸ McDermid, J.H. "The Schooling of Working Class Girls in Nineteenth Century Scotland : The Interaction of Nationality, Class and Gender" PhD thesis, University of London Institute of Education, 2000, p. 209.

⁴⁹ Abrams, L, " Introduction: Gendering the Agenda" in Abrams, L, Gordon, E, Simonton, D, Yeo, E.J. (eds) *Gender in Scottish History since 1700* EUP 2006, p. 10.

comments ‘Scottish education has recently come to be indicted as sexist (where is the lass o’ pairts?)’⁵⁰ – and this is a very good question. Where is she? Is she excluded? Does her part in the myth derive from her role as mother or sister or part of the supportive community? Or is she integral to it? Moore gives the example of one woman who ‘even learned the rudiments of Latin, that she might tutor her son when he began it’⁵¹ This woman’s part is in the context of the ‘supportive family.’ She may have learned some Latin, but as that fell within the ambit of her role as a mother, it is not regarded as an academic achievement.

How did the girls and women who were pupils and teachers experience the democratic intellect? Recent commentators have reflected on their experience. Hills, who was ‘on the receiving end’ of Scottish education in the mid 20th century reflected;

I am a child of the land of the Democratic Intellect; the land of the lad o’ pairts. ... This is a strong male myth which has served the women of Scotland ill. Since women have been largely invisible there is a habit of silence. When women seek to break the silence there is no precedence and they are isolated and vulnerable. Gender codes and behaviours are so institutionalised as to go unnoticed.⁵²

Hills started her career in teaching in 1966. The low expectations of bright working class girls and their acceptance of a career in teaching the youngest children has been dubbed ‘The Senga Syndrome.’ ‘While there has been an idealisation of the hard-working, gifted ‘lad o’ pairts’ who could rise to the highest level in the land, there has been no similar conception of the ‘lass o’ pairts’ One outcome has been that high achieving girls from Scottish working-class families tend to be funnelled into the lower levels of teaching

⁵⁰ Northcroft, D. *Scots at School* E.U.P. 2003, p. 12

⁵¹ Moore, Lindy, ‘Invisible scholars: Girls learning Latin and mathematics in the elementary public schools of Scotland before 1872’, *History of Education Journal* Vol 13, No. 2, June 1984. p136, quoting from Steven, George, *A Scotch Student: Memorials of Peter Thomson, Minister of the Free Church, St Fergus, 1881.*

⁵² Hills, Leslie “The Senga Syndrome: Reflections on Twenty-One Years in Scottish Education” in Blair, M. Holland, J. and Sheldon, S. (eds) *Identity and Diversity; Gender and the Experience of Education* Open University 1995.

rather than being encouraged to conceive of other intellectual and career horizons.⁵³ (Of course, the Victorian women who became teachers had few other options; as most professions remained closed to women.) The use of the phrase ‘Senga syndrome’ is of interest in itself. ‘Senga’ is the name ‘Agnes’ backwards; it’s a name strongly associated with working class Scotland. Unpicking the choice of the term ‘Senga syndrome’ indicates a belief that there is something intrinsically Scottish in the underachieving bright working girl; perhaps here is the answer to the lack of the ‘lass o’ pairts’ – not invisible, as suggested by Moore, nor merely absent, as suggested by Devine, but having, as Corr suggested ‘a distinctive identity from boys in the Scottish educational structure.’⁵⁴ Is that ‘distinctive identity’ the antithesis of the successful male; the unsuccessful female? And yet, this too is unconvincing. Until the research is done, we cannot know where girls were positioned within the iconic concept of the democratic Scottish educational system. In the debate as to the reality behind the myth one point tends to be easily dismissed; the gendered nature of the debate is either taken for granted, or ignored. Would the perception of the ‘lad o’ pairts’ as a marker of Scottish identity change if the invisible girls became visible, if the absent became the present?

The axiom behind the present study is that there has been little meaningful research into whether girls and women were able to achieve social mobility through the educational system of Scotland. Social mobility in this thesis follows the Weberian model of gradations of class, in which not only economic power, but social status determine class, and upward social mobility confers not only increased spending power and better living conditions, but also individual choice and control of life experience. This is clearly the class context in which the lad is described; and so is the model adopted for examination of the lass. Until research is undertaken more carefully, the extent to which girls may or may not have existed who achieved what lads did within the ‘lad o’ pairts’ discourse, in the same way that middle-class or urban boys could happily do, cannot be sensibly postulated.

⁵³ Weiner, Gaby ‘Bilateral vision: gender and education in the UK and Sweden’ *European Education* Vol 36, Number 4 Winter 2004.

⁵⁴ Corr, H. ‘Dominies and Domination: Schoolteachers, Masculinity and Women in 19th century Scotland’ *History Workshop Journal* 1995.

Fictional representation of the lad and lass o' pairs.

One further aspect of the iconography of the 'lad' is his place within Scottish literature. The phrase 'lad o' pairs' owes its very existence to literature. It was popularised in the collection of short stories *Beside the Bonnie Briar Bush*⁵⁵ in 1894, although similar terms had been used before. George F. Duthie⁵⁶, headmaster of Woodside School, Aberdeen, for example, was described in 1880 as 'A man of parts, a prince of teachers he: The human mind he knows, and how to guide And stimulate the rising powers of youth...'⁵⁷ *Beside the Bonnie Briar Bush* is a novel usually described as 'kailyard' novel. Kailyard writing has been described as a subgenre of domestic realism⁵⁸ which sentimentalises Scotland, portraying it as a rural nation full of kindly characters. The 'lad o' pairs' was a staple of the kailyard school of Scottish literature. The stereotypical lad struggled against poverty and wore himself out studying on an inadequate diet of oatmeal, often dying shortly after gaining high honours at University. However, many of the totemic accounts of such a lad are non-fiction (though hagiographical) – such as the biography of Ramsay MacDonald *Labour's Man of Destiny*⁵⁹ which related his route from illegitimate ploughman's son, via the village school, to political greatness.

The novel *The House with the Green Shutters*⁶⁰ is 'anti-kailyard' rejecting a vision of Scotland as a winsome, pawky nation. Dickson makes an interesting point about this novel;

At every point, Brown's narrative contradicts the myth: the boy does not even *want* to go to university; his father sends him so that he can provide for the family, not for

⁵⁵ Maclaren, Ian, *Beside the Bonnie Brier Bush*, Dodd, Mead & Co. 1895.

⁵⁶ George F. Duthie was President of the E.I.S. 1889-91.

⁵⁷ Morgan, Patrick. *Reminiscences of Past and Present Worthies of Woodside Free Church*. G. Cornwall and Sons, 1884.

⁵⁸ Watson, Roderick, *The Literature of Scotland; the middle ages to the nineteenth century*, Palgrave MacMillan, second edition 2007, p. 339.

⁵⁹ Tiltman, Hessel *Labour's Man of Destiny*, Jarrolds, 1929

⁶⁰ Brown, G.D. *The House with the Green Shutters*, John McQueen, 1901.

education's sake; the villagers take a malicious delight in his eventual downfall rather than his success. Brown is doing his utmost to characterise MacLaren's version of Scottish education as unrealistic. Despite these bleak representations, Brown himself bears an uncanny resemblance to the lad of parts. For the illegitimate son of a farm servant, an education by sensitive, thoughtful teachers with high expectations offered entry into a way of life both interesting and financially secure. There is an acute dissonance between biography and fiction.⁶¹

Anderson recommends that those researching Scottish education move away from dates and policy decisions and examine the experience of those 'on the receiving end' of Scottish education. The dearth of such research is balanced by the presence of a considerable body of literature which includes the experience of education. How does the lass o' parts fit into the tension between kailyard and anti-kailyard? There is a clear difference between the fictional lad o' parts and the fictional lass o' parts. Both struggle against poverty, but the lad struggles also against ill health, whilst the lass struggles against the ill health of others.

One example of the fictional lass can be found in *The Quarry Wood* by Nan Shepherd. Martha Ironside is a ploughman's daughter, living in the North East of Scotland, whose mother takes in illegitimate children as a source of income. The story is set at some point prior to the First World War. Her home is dirty, overcrowded and chaotic. Martha, though, loves her schoolwork and gains a series of bursaries to let her continue at school. Martha 'had learned as yet to be passionate on behalf of one thing only – knowledge: but for that she could intrigue like any lover. She had made her own plans for going, not to the Training Centre, but to the university.'⁶² Martha's home environment is not the rural idyll of the kailyard. The family poverty is explicit, but bursaries allow her to go to University, and then Teacher Training College. She gets a teaching post. Martha's difficulties arise from her family; her mother becomes enormously fat and takes 'turns,' her elderly aunt becomes terminally ill. Martha

⁶¹ Dickson, Beth "Pathetic Reminders"? The Idea of Education in Modern Scottish Fiction" in McGonigle, J and Stirling, K. *Ethically Speakin; Voice and Values in Modern Scottish Writing*, Rodopi, 2006

⁶² Shepherd, Nan, *The Quarry Wood* Canongate Books, 2001, p. 32.

continues to teach, but family responsibilities constrain her ability to travel. The community is not universally supportive of this lass, and her mother's pride is based more on scoring points off other relatives and the hope that Martha's income might assist the family than actual pride in Martha's abilities.

In Lorna Moon's *Dark Star*, set in a fictional village which was based on Strichen, Aberdeenshire, Nancy is illegitimate, abandoned by her mother and brought up by her grandmother. Aged 'nearly 12' her grandmother has a heart attack and 'From that day all things were changed. Her school-books hung in their canvas bag behind the door and were never opened again. Baking and washing and sweeping filled her days...' ⁶³ After her grandmother dies, she regrets her lack of education and starts studying French in the evenings, taught by the local schoolmaster. Aged eighteen she becomes an assistant at the local library. Again, this seems anti-kailyard in its descriptions of an often hostile and unpleasant community.

Catherine Carswell's semi-autobiographical novel *Open the Door* ⁶⁴ set in Glasgow in the late nineteenth century also features a parental death – in this case her father when she was aged twelve. This, however, pushes the heroine Joanna to study as her mother, Juley, believes that both her daughters will have to support themselves 'Matrimony in Juley's eyes was not a thing to be sought for its own sake, and if her daughters neither married nor felt the call to be missionaries, they would have to do something for themselves.' ⁶⁵

Grassic Gibbon's *Sunset Song* tells the life of Chris Guthrie, daughter of a tenant farmer in the early 20th century. Her home, Kinraddie in the Mearns is described by its minister as 'the Scots countryside itself, fathered between a kailyard and a bonny briar bush in the lee of a house with green shutters.' ⁶⁶ She loves school and wins prizes of books. These books are the only books in her home other than the Bible. At school she

⁶³ Moon, Lorna, *Dark Star*, Gourdas House 1980, p. 30.

⁶⁴ Carswell, Catherine. *Open the Door!* Canongate Books 1996

⁶⁵ *ibid*, p. 50.

⁶⁶ Gibbon, Lewis Grassick, *Sunset Song* Canongate Books 1988, p. 24.

shone at 'Latin and French and Greek and history.'⁶⁷ Her education comes to an abrupt end when her mother kills herself and Chris takes over as housekeeper at home. Still she dreams of going to University one day. However, when, after her father's death, she is finally able to realise her dream of University, she decides against it, choosing instead to continue to farm at Kinraddie. *Sunset Song* is regarded as one of the most important Scottish novels of the twentieth century. In *Sunset Song* Chris feels that there are two 'Chrisses'; the Scottish one, attuned to the land and the seasons; and the 'English' one, pulled by the lure of books and education. She does not regard education as intrinsically Scottish;

So that was Chris and her reading and schooling, two Chrisses there were that fought for her heart and tormented her. You hated the land and the coarse speak of the folk and learning was brave and fine one day; and the next you'd waken with the peewits crying across the hills, deep and deep, crying in the heart of you and the smell of the earth in your face, almost you'd cry for that, the beauty of it and the sweetness of the Scottish land and skies.⁶⁸

Her mother advised her 'there are better things than your books or studies or loving or bedding, there's the countryside your own, you its, in the days when you're neither bairn nor woman.'⁶⁹

The relationship between kailyard and anti-kailyard literature, fiction and reality and gender is complex. Novels which are regarded as grittily realistic, such as Grassie Gibbon's *Sunset Song* suggest that a girl studying Latin, becoming school dux and dreaming of academic success falls within the ambit of 'realism' at least in novels. While historians may cast doubt on the existence of the Lass o' Pairts, novelists who grew up within the Scottish education system find a fictional lass o' pairts entirely credible. This is a topic which would bear further examination outwith this thesis.

⁶⁷ *ibid*, p. 44.

⁶⁸ *ibid*, p. 32.

⁶⁹ *ibid*, p. 27.

Poetry, too, includes women's experience of Scottish Victorian education; from the Dundee lassie who would 'a' liked tae be a teacher, But I never got the chance'⁷⁰ and the woman who recollected the glamour of her father's Greek volumes 'Homer! This same old copy shone, star of my childish vision, To read it for myself was once The height of my ambition.'⁷¹ Rachel Annand Taylor's *Princess of Scotland* claims that 'Poverty hath the Gaelic and Greek In my land.'⁷² In Flora Garry's⁷³ poem *The Professor's Wife*,⁷⁴ the narrator recalls her crofter parents who maintained that 'Learnin's the thing...to help you up in the wardle.' Her dreams, however, failed to materialise for, having been 'a student at King's' she ended up 'jist a professor's wife.' In these poems by women, education has glamour and appears as something to which a woman might aspire. Less encouraging is Charles Murray who wrote of the farmer's daughter who 'gabbit in German, but whaur wis the need?'⁷⁵ In Murray's world, what every lass wants is a husband, even the 'queyn that was teachin' an' raised i' the toon' 'couldna say 'Na' till a laad wi' a gig'⁷⁶ However, I would argue that the women's poetry writing gives genuine insight into the views of some of the women who were 'on the receiving end' of Scottish education.

The introduction to a book on the history of a New Zealand textile company, founded by two Scots *Doing Well and Doing Good: Ross and Glendining, Scottish Enterprise in New Zealand*⁷⁷ explains Scottish business success in New Zealand;

Their competitive edge, however, came not only from co-operation but also from a superior education. In 1696 the Scottish Parliament had passed an act to establish a

⁷⁰ Brooksbank, Mary, "Dundee Lassie" Dundee University Archives, Manuscript no. 8 (1) (ISAD (G))

⁷¹ Craigmyle, Bessie, *Poems and Translations* 1886, Aberdeen, p. 73.

⁷² Taylor, Rachel Annand, "The Princess of Scotland", in Watson, Roderick, *The Poetry of Scotland: Gaelic, Scots and English, 1380-1980*, EUP, 1995, p. 548.

⁷³ Flora Garry (1900-2000). See Pipes, R, Ewan, E, Innes, S, and Reynolds, S, (eds), *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women*, EUP, 2006, p. 132.

⁷⁴ Wheeler, Leslie W. (ed) *Ten Northeast Poets*, Aberdeen University Press 1985 Aberdeen., pp. 65-67.

⁷⁵ "The Braw Lass" in Murray, Charles, *Hamewith: The Complete Works of Charles Murray*, AUP, 1979, p. 108.

⁷⁶ "There's Aye a Something" in Murray, Charles, *Hamewith: The Complete Works of Charles Murray*, AUP, 1979, p. 130.

⁷⁷ Jones, S.R.H. *Doing Well and Doing Good: Ross and Glendining, Scottish Enterprise in New Zealand* Otago University Press 2010.

school in every parish, with the result that standards of literacy were far higher than those in England. One of the motives for the legislation was that Presbyterians believed that both boys and girls should be able to read the Bible for themselves...⁷⁸

Thus, the origins of the Scottish educational system are summarised for a New Zealand readership. The author quite confidently asserts the superiority of Scottish education; it is a narrative that has been internalised by generations of Scots. In this way, the myth of the opportunity for girls as well as boys was to be found in the literature of Scotland during our period. It shows that summary conclusions that even the myth excluded women is inaccurate. Fictional literature, one normally assumes, reflects something of the social reality with which its readership is familiar. The question for this study is to develop a means of exploring the opportunities in the Scottish educational system that lay for women through a life in education.

The Scottish educational system

What was this distinctive Scottish education system, within which the lad o' pairts narrative existed? The history of education in Scotland dates back many centuries. Early deeds suggest that there were 'sang schules' attached to churches in the twelfth century. Several Grammar schools (including Aberdeen and Stirling and probably Dunbar) pre-date the Reformation. The Universities of St Andrews, Glasgow and Aberdeen date back to 1413, 1451 and 1495 respectively. Information about the very early schools and their curriculum is sparse. Meaningful information about female education in pre-Reformation Scotland is non-existent. For the practical purposes of this thesis, the first clear statement of educational policy came with the First Book of Discipline in 1560 which proposed a national system of schooling with a school in every parish. Education Acts of 1616, 1633, 1646 and 1696 all attempted to implement this proposal, with more practical success in lowland, rather than highland, Scotland. The Act of 1696 remained,

⁷⁸ Jones, S.R.H. *Doing Well and Doing Good: Ross and Glendinning, Scottish Enterprise in New Zealand* Otago University Press 2010, p.12.

with minor amendments, the legal basis of parochial education until 1872. It created a system of schools, organised within the church parish system. Each parish had to provide a school and pay for a schoolmaster. Schoolmaster's salaries were not high and were supplemented by fees paid by pupils. Parental inability to pay fees did not preclude a child from attending school; the church poor roll paid fees if necessary. The ideal was to have a parish school from which a talented boy could progress to University. (It was possible to attend University aged thirteen or fourteen.) In practise it would appear that many pupils went from parish school into one of the cities to attend a Grammar or Burgh school prior to University. Additionally, some University students had left school and worked for several years before going to University. The parochial system did not apply in the royal burghs, which had burgh schools run by town councils instead. Girls could, and did, attend parochial schools, but they could not progress to University.

The parochial system was not perfect. In large parishes, distances prevented some children from attending. The emphasis on equipping boys for University, with its emphasis on Latin and Greek, restricted the inclusion of other subjects, such as modern languages. Moreover, as girls could not progress onto University, it tended to sideline them. As a result a patchwork of schools appeared in addition to the parish and burgh schools. Side schools were set up in parishes where it was difficult for all pupils to access the parish school – for example in long, narrow parishes, or in parishes bisected by a river. Schools were set up in towns to teach diverse subjects such as book-keeping and navigation. These were often described as academies.⁷⁹ The Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge (SPCK) set up schools in the Highlands where the parochial system was weakest. Initially the SPCK insisted on the use of English, but from 1741 on, Gaelic was used in Gaelic speaking parishes.

The parish school system started to crumble as Scotland became increasingly urbanised. City parishes became crowded with families and a single school in an urbanised parish was not sufficient. A motley assortment of schools attempted to cater for the urban poor and urban middle classes – private schools of varying quality, charity

⁷⁹ Inverness Royal Academy is one example.

schools, church run Sessional Schools, industrial schools. Pupils in towns could pick and choose individual classes from several sources. Dame schools in particular were regarded as providing little more than child-minding. The patchwork provision of urbanised education was quickly seen as unsatisfactory. In 1818 it was estimated that around two thirds of urban school children were being educated outwith church-run parish schools. In 1834 George Lewis published a book entitled *Scotland a Half Educated Nation*⁸⁰ in which he argued that the Scottish educational system was failing. The Scottish educational system was further fragmented by the Disruption of 1843 which led to the creation of a parallel system of Free Church schools. However, the increase in the number of schools created opportunities for female teachers. As Irish immigration increased the number of Roman Catholics in Scotland, new Roman Catholic schools were also set up.

The introduction of the registration of births, marriages and deaths in 1855 meant that, for the first time, national statistics on the extent to which brides and grooms could sign their own names became available. This is a very crude method of analysing the extent of education, but had the merit of being consistent throughout the country. 89% of Scottish grooms could sign their name compared with 70% in England and Wales. For brides the figures were 77 and 70% respectively. It highlighted variations within Scotland, with higher percentages in lowland parishes than Highland.

In 1862 the 'Revised Code' was introduced. This changed the existing system of government grants for some schools. From 1862, schools were to be paid grants according to the results they produced, to be calculated by the number of children passing an annual examination in one of six graduated 'standards'. There was considerable opposition to the Revised Code; it provided grants only to schools which catered solely for the working classes, thus interfering with the Scottish ideal of classless education; it emphasised the teaching of the 3 'R's' to the detriment of the classics, and it encouraged 'teaching to the test.' The outcry over the Revised Code led to it being suspended, and

⁸⁰ Lewis, George, *Scotland, a Half-Educated Nation, both in the Quantity and Quality of her Educational Institutions*, Glasgow, 1834.

the Argyll Commission appointed to examine Scottish education. The Commission's findings were published in reports in 1867 (primary education) and 1868 (burgh schools) and resulted in legislative proposals which culminated in the passing of the Education (Scotland) Act 1872.

The Education (Scotland) Act 1872 made education compulsory for children aged between five and eleven. Immediately prior to the introduction of compulsory education, the overwhelming majority - up to 98% in some areas- of children were receiving some education. However, when education was not compulsory it was always open to families to decide for themselves at what age children should start and finish their education, and how much time they should take off to assist with family businesses and domestic tasks. The Act put Scotland's education into the hands of locally-elected School Boards. These Boards were responsible for creating a system of mixed sex public elementary schools and ensuring that all children, aged between five and thirteen, were taught reading, writing and arithmetic (the 3 'r's). School Boards were responsible for staffing schools and fixing salary scales, which varied from Board to Board. The School Boards, which varied in size, were overseen by the Scotch (later Scottish) Education Department (SED) in Westminster. The School Boards remained in control until 1919. Attendance at school was enforced by truancy officers, and head teachers were obliged to maintain log books and registers of children. There was a centralised curriculum and regular inspection of schools. Education was not free until 1890, but provision was made to assist poor children prior to then. Some schools were permitted to retain fees after 1890.⁸¹ Although the "parish school" concept of single schools catering to all social classes retained social approval, in towns and cities as the classes separated out into different types of housing in different areas, schools increasingly catered to a single class, whether that be slum, respectable working or middle. Wealthier families opted for private education, but this is outwith the scope of this thesis. Some schools, notably Roman Catholic and some Episcopalian schools plus private schools catering to the wealthier middle and upper classes did not come under the School Board system. In 1883 the school leaving age was raised to 14. The unified nature of Scottish education post-1872 enabled government

⁸¹ For example, Ashley Road School in Aberdeen, which was situated in an affluent middle class area.

policies on curriculum to be applied to the majority of Scotland's school pupils. For example, recruitment of soldiers for the Boer War revealed large numbers of unfit men. This led to an increase in physical education in schools and of domestic education for girls, as the potential mothers of soldiers.

This then was the system within which the 'mythical' lad o' pairts operated. Chapter Two will investigate female access to elementary education for the working classes and lower middle classes; the classes which produced the 'lad o' pairts.' Chapter Three will to examine female access to post-elementary education through the pupil teacher scheme. Thereafter I will examine the uses to which an education might be put, specifically through a career in teaching. Throughout, the study will be tracing women who were able to achieve upward social mobility and to become a 'lass o' pairts.' I will seek out specific examples of individual women's lives to illustrate the wider issues.

Women's careers in Victorian Scotland

What careers were open to working class or lower middle class women in mid / late Victorian Scotland? For the purpose of my thesis I am going to focus on teaching, with some comparative references to other careers which required a minimum of a good elementary education, and which might suggest the possibility of a ladder of opportunity through education into upward mobility through occupation. The vast majority of women were, of course, employed in unskilled or skilled work in mills and factories in the textile industry, in domestic service, in agricultural work, or in the fishing industry as gutters etc. These women fall outwith the scope of this thesis, because these were not occupations which ordinarily gave the opportunity for advancement into the educated professions.

The growth of careers for women has been covered in two separate bodies of work. There has been considerable research into the growth of careers for middle class women, for whom respectability was a priority. Although the timeline is relevant to my thesis, the questions asked of the sources tend to be different. The women in whom I am

interested were members of the skilled working classes, or lower middle classes, amongst whom there was already an acceptance of the need to earn a living. Moreover, the priority amongst middle class women seeking to earn a living was to avoid falling down the social scale, whereas I would argue that women in the aspirant skilled working class were actively seeking to move up. Middle class women who were in a position to be self-supporting could create a 'career' in the voluntary sector. Examples include many of the deaconesses, or women such as Meredith Brown, daughter of the Rev. Dr. Brown, who created the Shaftesbury Institute to help prevent poor factory workers from falling into prostitution.⁸² This was not an option for working class or lower middle women. Myers links social mobility through education to the middle classes;

There was a considerable 'surplus' of women in the nineteenth century, which made marriage prospects more limited than in the past. The need for the maintenance of social status dictated new solutions for women and their role in society. In this way, education was seen as a means of keeping women from going down the social ladder, while for men it was seen as a means of moving up it. Economic arguments for giving women a university education factored into the question as well. There was an increasing need for employment for middle class daughters.⁸³

As Myers is focussing on graduate employment, for which an expensive degree was required, her emphasis on the middle classes is understandable. However, I would argue that the position of working class or lower-middle class women was that education was a means for moving up, not a preventative from moving down.

The superfluous woman

One of the issues which encouraged the creation of careers for women was the number of women who were forced to be self-supporting either because they remained

⁸² Meredith Brown (1846-1908) see Ewan, Innes, Reynolds, Pipes (eds) *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women* EUP 2006, p. 47.

⁸³ Myers, Christine D. *University Coeducation in the Victorian Era; Inclusion in the United States and the United Kingdom*, palgrave macmillan, 2010

unmarried, or because they were widowed. Holloway⁸⁴ suggests that the ‘superfluous Women’ was seen as a middle class problem. Certainly the middle classes could regard unmarried working class women as simply a source of domestic labour. But the problem as experienced was not confined to the middle classes. Working class women, especially from the rising aspirant skilled working classes also sought solutions which did not involve their daughters moving socially backwards into domestic service.

Devine summarises the situation in Scotland;

In Scotland, women have outnumbered men (in the period 1830-1939)...Since marriage was regarded by contemporary bourgeois society as an almost compulsory norm, it is easy to imagine the pain, anxiety and even humiliation experienced by many of these women.⁸⁵

Women themselves were well aware that there were not enough marriageable men to go around, and that not only was marriage not a ‘compulsory norm’ it was also often unrealistic. However, when Devine claims that ‘it is easy to imagine’ the feelings of unmarried woman, care must be taken not to incorporate twenty-first century presuppositions about Victorian women.

Much of the literature emphasises the pivotal role of the year 1851. In 1851 the decennial census included, for the first time, marital status. This gave clear statistical evidence that unmarried women in Britain outnumbered unmarried men. As marriage and childbearing were seen as the main role of women, these ‘extra’ women were described as ‘surplus’ or ‘superfluous.’ This situation was not, of course, new. There had always been unmarried men and unmarried women. In some occupations, chiefly agricultural, men were required to be married but generally men faced few difficulties if they did not marry. Lack of marriage for women was far more serious. Women were severely restricted in the paid occupations they could pursue. Middle class women in

⁸⁴ Holloway, Gerry, *Women and Work in Britain since 1840* Routledge, 2005, p. 36.

⁸⁵ Devine, T. M. *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007*, Penguin books, 2006, pp. 523-4.

particular were regarded as having lost status by accepting paid employment. Working class women could find employment more readily, but wages were low. The 1851 census allowed a known problem to be quantified, and encouraged the discussion of solutions. Some suggested a simple solution – ship the surplus women out to places where there were surplus men. Other suggested that better employment opportunities were needed.

Davidoff and Hall outline the situation;

By the 1850s and with the publication of statistical details available for the first time in the 1851 census, public debate centred on what came to be defined as ‘surplus’ or ‘redundant’ women. The simple expedient of shipping middle-class women to the colonies in proportion to men as a solution was countered by feminists who argued that if women were allowed to freely enter all occupations ‘suited to their strength’ they would cease to be superfluous.⁸⁶

Davidoff and Hall focus on the position of middle-class women, but the argument that working class women ought to be ‘shipped to the colonies’ was also advanced; indeed philanthropic societies were formed to help those women who could not otherwise afford to emigrate. Meanwhile, those who did not want to emigrate remained a problem. Best, speaking of Britain as a whole observes;

The leaders of the Women’s Rights movement knew well enough what the facts were and denounced the particularly cruel humbug of talking about a ‘Women’s Place being in the Home’ while there was actually a surplus of women in the population and while between 26 and 28 per cent of them, unlucky or outclassed in the competition for husbands, had to strive to be independent. Their efforts (assisted by intelligent non-feminist philanthropists like Shaftesbury) were in these early years aimed largely to create a larger range of employments in which women might respectably earn

⁸⁶ Davidoff, L. and Hall, C. *Family Fortunes; Men and Women of the English middle class 1780-1850*, Hutchison, 1987, p. 453.

independent livelihoods and to establish such educational institutions as might qualify women for them; and those efforts were beginning to bear fruit by the seventies.⁸⁷

This is echoed by Holloway;

The impetus to campaign to extend opportunities for work for middle class women came from several sources. The 1851 census revealed that as many as 30% of all English women between the ages of twenty and forty were unmarried. Although some of these would eventually marry, it was estimated that around one million women would never marry. It was these women who had ‘failed in their business’, who caused anxiety in the media’⁸⁸ ... Both social reformers and feminists discussed the condition of those unfortunate women who found themselves unsupported yet unprepared for the world of work. Although these activists saw emigration as one possibility for single women they did not regard it as the only one, nor did they necessarily see marriage as the only solution. They looked to improve women’s education so that they would be equipped to participate in a wider range of suitable employment possibilities i.e. those areas that were deemed respectable as employment for middle-class women. These women were the focus of a sustained campaign.⁸⁹

Although Holloway focuses on middle class women, changing social attitudes about the employment of women naturally affected the working classes too, especially those sections of the skilled working class who were upwardly mobile.

That the situation in Scotland was the same as England is confirmed by Simonton;

By 1851, women had come to outnumber men in the population: as many as a third of women never married in nineteenth century Scotland. In addition to needing work, many single middle-class women wanted to ‘do something’ with their lives, and proactively carved out niches in white-bloused work. For working-class men and women,

⁸⁷ Best, Geoffrey, *Mid-Victorian Britain 1851-75* FontanaPress 1985, p. 120.

⁸⁸ Holloway, Gerry, *Women and Work in Britain since 1840*, Routledge, 2005, p. 37-38.

⁸⁹ Holloway, Gerry, *Women and Work in Britain since 1840*, Routledge, 2005, p. 38.

the sector provided social mobility, a 'better' kind of work with higher status. Because the work was 'new' in the way that it was organised and understood, both men and women had to stake their claim to it, and different accommodations to gender emerged as a result. Thus, the story of white-collared / white-bloused work is one of each sex claiming its place, often with a tension between what was seen as male work and female work. The story is a highly nuanced one embedded in issues of gender, custom and control.⁹⁰

In this thesis, I intend to examine how whether the issue of 'surplus' women opened the door to the 'lass o' pairts' both educationally and vocationally. I anticipate that it will be, as Simonton says, a highly nuanced story.

Careers for Victorian Women

Careers were opening to educated women in mid to late Victorian Scotland. The main structured career was teaching. Women could attend Normal College (teacher training college) from the late 1840s. There were bursaries (although the bursaries for women were less than those for available to men). Until 1892, the teacher training colleges were main source of tertiary education for women in Scotland. Once qualified women could work their way up through a career ladder and become Head teachers. In practise, few did, although the post of Infant Mistress was a promoted post which was only available to women. An Infant Mistress was head of the Infant Department (ages 5-7) and could be responsible for several classes. Some Infant Mistresses kept separate log books, and dealt with matters such as staff absences and truancy. The first two Normal Colleges, in Edinburgh and Glasgow, split to form four colleges following the Disruption of 1843 which created the Free Church of Scotland. Apart from a very small Episcopalian college, they remained the only Normal Colleges until a further two were

⁹⁰ Simonton, D, *Work, Trade and Commerce* in Abrams, Gordon, Simonton and Yeo, *Gender in Scottish History since 1700*, EUP, 2006, p. 219.

opened in Aberdeen in 1873 and 1874 by the Church of Scotland and the Free Church of Scotland respectively. The first Roman Catholic teacher training college, Dowanhill in Glasgow, was opened in 1894. Prior to 1872 schools were run by a piecemeal variety of church, local authority, charity and private venture. Each parish had its own school with a male teacher. Women could teach sewing but little else in the Parish schools. However, urbanisation created a huge need for additional schools in the cities and these were increasingly staffed by women; a process referred to as the 'feminisation of the teaching profession' Devine does not think that this process particularly benefitted women;

Following the establishment of the state-financed pupil teacher system in 1846, girls were recruited from the skilled working and lower-middle classes in large numbers, comprising 35 per cent of the profession in 1851 and 70 per cent in 1911.

Nevertheless, the promotion prospects of women remained limited. They could go no further than the post of infant mistress in the elementary schools after the First World War...⁹¹

This is disingenuous because the use of the word 'remained' neatly elides the fact that women could, and did, go further than the post of infant mistress prior to the First World War. In terms of educational opportunity, structured careers and upward social mobility, teaching was the main profession open to women in mid / late Victorian Scotland.

Although teaching and governessing may appear superficially similar, there were wide differences between the two. This was not a career which was open to working class / lower middle class women because the chief attribute of a governess was her own background. Governesses were expected to set an example to their middle class charges. Their lot in life was a notably unhappy one, as the typical governess was a lady forced to earn a living through 'reduced circumstances'. Governessing was an indication of downward social mobility, a career of necessity rather than choice, forced on those with

⁹¹ Devine, T. M. *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007* Penguin books, 2006, p. 534.

no formal qualifications, and often little schooling. Salaries were low, as board and lodging were provided.⁹² It is therefore outwith the scope of my thesis.

In contrast to governesses, who were drawn only from the middle classes, only working class women could become Biblewomen. However, it would appear that they came from a similar skilled working class background to the majority of elementary school teachers. Lesley Orr states that;

...from the 1850s, Presbyterian churches began to make use of Biblewomen in their mission districts. These were mainly working class women - often widows. But the title (which was used well into the 20th century) was subject to no standardisation or control. Individual ministers and sessions simply appointed women to take on a limited range of tasks and responsibilities, with no agreed procedures for selection or conditions.⁹³

This statement appears to be true of Biblewomen in the west coast of Scotland, particularly around Glasgow⁹⁴, but is not true of Aberdeen and Edinburgh where the majority of Biblewomen were unmarried and had to keep extensive records which were scrutinised not only by the congregations which employed them, but also by other charities which helped support them financially. There were no Biblewomen in the Highlands, as their purpose was specifically to work amongst the urban poor, and few in Dundee. As Biblewomen were partially funded by middle-class charitable organisations, Dundee's smaller middle class might explain the paucity of Biblewomen there. Although the position of Biblewoman might attract those with a 'vocation' it did not offer the prospect of upward social mobility as Biblewomen were required to live within the area they served, and were paid a low wage. Nevertheless, Biblewomen had status within a

⁹² See e.g. Horn, Pamela, 'The Victorian Governess' *History of Education* 1989, Vol 18, No. 4, pp. 333-344.

⁹³ MacDonald, Lesley A. Orr, *A Unique and Glorious Mission; Women and Presbyterianism in Scotland 1830-1930*, John Donald Publishers Ltd, 2000, p. 85.

⁹⁴ E.g. Margaret Ann McGregor – see Pipes, Ewan, Innes, Reynolds (eds) *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women*, EUP, 2006, p224; Thompson, D.P. *Women of the Scottish Church* Munro & Scott Ltd, 1975, pp.322-328.

community and, as the ‘gatekeeper’ to access to various charitable benefits, considerable power.

Simonton points out that careers in clerking and bookkeeping were largely a Victorian construct;

For working-class men and women, the (white collar / white blouse) sector provided social mobility, a ‘better’ kind of work with higher status. Because the work was ‘new’ in the way that it was organised and understood, both men and women had to stake their claim to it, and different accommodations to gender emerged as a result. Thus, the story of white-collared / white-bloused work is one of each sex claiming its place, often with a tension between what was seen as male work and female work.⁹⁵

G. Anderson provides the statistics to confirm this ‘newness.’

Even as late as 1851 the white collar sector remained under developed, with only 91,000 men (in Britain) employed in commercial occupations and virtually no women. From mid-century, however, there was rapid expansion, the number of men in commercial occupations increasing to 130,000 in 1861, 449,000 in 1891 and 739,000 in 1911. Women were also increasingly employed in commercial occupations, the number rising from 2,000 in 1861, to 26,000 in 1891 and to 157,000 in 1911. In the second half of the nineteenth century the social barriers against respectable female employment were weakening and the range of suitable jobs was widening. Women were increasingly employed as low-status clerks, typists and telephonists.⁹⁶

From this it can be seen that not only were numbers rising, but the proportion of clerks who were female was rising too, from a ratio of one woman to sixty-five men in 1861 to a ratio of one woman to seventeen men in 1891. As G. Anderson has written;

⁹⁵ Simonton, D, *Work, Trade and Commerce* in Abrams, Gordon, Simonton and Yeo, *Gender in Scottish History since 1700*, EUP 2006, p. 219.

⁹⁶ Anderson, G, *Victorian Clerks*, Manchester University Press 1976, p. 2.

The clerical labour force in public administration also expanded as the changes and problems associated with industrial urban society drew the government into more and more sections of national and local life. The number of men employed in public administration grew from 64,000 in 1851 to 146,000 in 1891 and to 271,000 in 1911. The number of women similarly employed grew from 3,000 in 1851 to 17,000 in 1891 and to 50,000 in 1911.⁹⁷

Public administration employment was highly desirable as it provided better conditions including pensions. Again, not only were the numbers of women rising, but also the ratio, from one woman to seventeen in 1851 to one woman to 8.5 in 1891. There is one interesting corollary to the vast increase in the number of men employed in the civil service. These men were drawn from the same section of the population which formerly became teachers. The structure of public elementary education post 1872 made teaching a less attractive option for men. This was because the huge new School Board schools had a higher ratio of teachers to head teachers. Promotion to head teacher came later, if at all. Promotion within the civil service seemed more certain. As men increasingly chose to enter the civil service rather than teaching, the demand for teachers had to be met by female teachers. Therefore, the fact that the number of men employed in public administration in Britain grew from 64,000 in 1851 to 146,000 in 1891 is as significant as regards female careers as it is for male careers. In England the overall population increased considerably, but in Scotland population increase was much slower, with Irish immigration balanced by Scottish emigration. Therefore, an increasing demand for white collar workers and teachers had to be met by a decrease in more traditional occupations. Entry to the civil service was by competitive examination. Devine comments 'Women were destined for marriage and to play the role of home-makers. Their time in the labour market was assumed to be of short duration and as a result they were not expected to have the commitment to acquire skills or develop responsibilities.'⁹⁸ This does not hold true for women in the Civil Service who were expected to train for rigorous examinations.

⁹⁷ *ibid*, p. 2.

⁹⁸ Devine, T. M. *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007* Penguin books, 2006, p. 535.

In 1860, Miss Catherine D. Rogers of Torquay became the first female post office clerk in Britain.⁹⁹ The *Aberdeen Journal* quipped;

if the examinations are competitive, and if young ladies compete with young gentlemen, what young man would be base enough to do his best against the pretty girl in a Zouave jacket and Balmoral boots working nervously at the next desk?¹⁰⁰

The article continued;

Speaking seriously, we are surprised that this very obvious department of masculine work has not long since been besieged by the pioneers of extended employment for women. No change in the habits of society, no alteration in public opinion is required to effect it. The work is not unfeminine; it is certainly not very hard. The kind and degree of work are much more fitted for women than shopwork. A father could not wish anything better for his daughter than to see her snugly placed in a government office. The Electric Telegraph Company employ young ladies extensively, and we believe find them very intelligent clerks.

The *Aberdeen Journal* need not have worried about examinees; examinations were not mixed, but single-sex. In Scotland the main examination centres were in Edinburgh and Aberdeen, which may have reflected the demand from those two areas. Conversely, easy access to examination centres may have boosted demand. One young man from Dundee complained that the lack of an examination centre in Dundee disadvantaged men from that city ‘We had to go to Edinburgh, Glasgow or Aberdeen to compete, and this entailed not only unnecessary expense, but some of us had never been in one, or any, of these towns before, and therefore everything seemed strange to us.’¹⁰¹ If this was a disadvantage to men, it was at least equally disadvantageous to women from Dundee.

⁹⁹ This was widely reported e.g. *Glasgow Herald* 17 April 1860.

¹⁰⁰ *Aberdeen Journal*, 25 April 1860.

¹⁰¹ Letter to the Editor from William McIntosh, *The Dundee Courier and Argus*, 1 July 1898.

By 1886, the *Aberdeen Journal* was asking;

What are we to do with our girls? [Formerly]] if a young woman did not get married when she was of marriageable age, she soon became an old maid and was pretty sure to find scope for her domestic talents in the home of a more matrimonial brother or sister. In these days matters are quite different. Let poets and cynics say what they will, marriage has to a considerable extent ceased to be the chief purpose of feminine existence; and yet, anomaly as it may appear to be, the old maid, the domestic old maid, is also an institution largely of the past. To dignify a post office counter, to become a telegraph clerk, or to act as secretary to some public institution, is now many a woman's foremost aim. If the wedding day come, good and well, but it is little more than an incident. If marriage do not come, she will not be an old maid, but a public official.¹⁰²

The article went on to say that demand for such jobs considerably exceeds the number of available posts. Certainly, young ladies seeking positions as clerks, and offering shorthand etc, appeared in the situations wanted columns¹⁰³ suggesting that there were more women eager to become clerks than posts available.

Civil service examinations required considerable commitment, although the number of women entering the civil service was fairly low. As late as 1898¹⁰⁴ there were only 26 female candidates in Aberdeen sitting the bi-annual examination, not all of whom would be successful, (although the 'Students Column' of the *Aberdeen Journal* was predicting success for Aberdeen women in the forthcoming 'women and girl clerkships' civil service exam, noting that six or seven had achieved 'first class status' in London, with a starting salary of £105p.a, rising to £190p.a. The 'Student's Column' included correspondence, but unfortunately the correspondents used nom-de-plumes, making it impossible to say what percentage were female. 'Mabel', 'Adeline' and 'Nellie' were

¹⁰² *Aberdeen Journal*, 26 October 1886.

¹⁰³ e.g. *Aberdeen Journal*, 8 May 1893.

¹⁰⁴ *Aberdeen Journal*, 19 Oct 1898.

presumably female and ‘George’ and ‘Ned’ presumably male and but most had gender neutral names such as ‘Dundonian’ or ‘Plodder’.

The discussion and debate around female civil servants suggests that careers were regarded as an appropriate ambition for young women; the arguments in favour of competitive examination and a structured career can equally be applied to a career in teaching. The concept that a young woman might be ambitious and seek a career was accepted, at least in certain quarters, by the late nineteenth century.

Journalism was a further option, albeit an unstructured one. Female journalists were divided into two categories; those who contributed freelance articles to newspapers and magazines and those who were employed by a newspaper or magazine company. The description ‘journalist’ then can cover a spectrum of employment situations, from women who wrote a little to supplement the family income, to those who worked full time in a salaried post. Moreover, women fiction writers might also derive income from factual writing for newspapers and magazines, without describing themselves as ‘journalists.’ Further blurring the boundaries, female journalists were often regarded as synonymous with ‘New Women.’ An English divorce case in 1893, in which a ‘lady journalist’ Mrs McKerrow, sought to divorce her husband on the grounds of his adultery with five other women was sensationally described in Scottish newspapers, with her occupation adding as much to the sensation as his alleged five paramours.¹⁰⁵ So too was the death of a lady journalist, Miss E. Bannister, following an illegal abortion; the woman who had performed the abortion was tried for manslaughter, but the newspaper reports made much of Miss Bannister’s occupation. Newspapers reported whimsically on the activities of lady journalists; in 1884, the *Aberdeen Journal* remarked ‘The woman journalist is nothing if not enterprising. One has recently got married, and it is announced that, during her honeymoon, she interviewed Mr Crockett on behalf of a paper to which she contributes’¹⁰⁶; in 1890 the *Glasgow Herald* reported that a lady journalist had appeared in the lobby of the House of Commons ‘taking down the neatest of notes in the

¹⁰⁵ E.g. *The Dundee Courier and Argus* 23 March 1893 – the column is headed *The “Lady Journalist’s” Divorce Action*.

¹⁰⁶ *Aberdeen Journal*, 24 Dec 1884, p. 7.

neatest of miniature notebooks.’¹⁰⁷ Pedersen has researched female journalists in the early twentieth century; there appears to be a dearth of research into their Victorian predecessors.

During the Victorian era nursing became formalised and experienced a class shift. Previously, nursing family members had been part of many women’s experience. The growth of hospitals created a demand for nurses, but as nursing was a messy and often unpleasant job, it tended to be a working class occupation. Florence Nightingale transformed the image of nursing, and made it an acceptable middle-class occupation. In 1860, the Nightingale School of Nursing at St Thomas’ Hospital was opened, with the aim of transforming nursing into a profession suitable, in its higher echelons, for the respectable middle class. In 1872, a similar nurse training school was established in Edinburgh. Although 1860 is the ‘landmark year’ for the development of the nursing profession, with 1872 being, to a lesser extent, the landmark year in the history of Scottish nursing, the division between ‘before’ and ‘after’ is less clear than is sometimes suggested. Scottish women did travel to London to train; Margaret Bothwell¹⁰⁸ and Angelique Pringle¹⁰⁹ being two examples, both of whom ultimately returned to Scotland. Nursing was a highly mobile profession with the most highly trained nurses moving in and out of Scotland, and indeed travelling worldwide. It did not have the clear career structure found in teaching or the civil service. So, a variety of career opportunities were developing, especially after 1890, for the educated young women. Moreover, the level of education being required was rising. At the heart of this development lay the education sector itself – both as facilitator of women’s mobility in employment at large, but also as the sector within which the mobility became most manifest. As we shall see, education became the area of work with which working women with growing educational achievement were to become most associated.

¹⁰⁷ *Glasgow Herald*, 18 March 1890.

¹⁰⁸ A farmer’s daughter from Aberdeenshire, Margaret Bothwell (1844-1899) became Head Nurse at Aberdeen Royal Infirmary.

¹⁰⁹ Angelique Pringle (1846 – 1920) a commercial traveller’s daughter from Hawick, subsequently worked in Edinburgh, before helping set up a nursing school in Massachusetts. She returned to work in London.

Conclusion

Devine summarises the career prospects of Victorian Scottish women;

Work on the farms remained popular with women until after the Great War, but even in the later nineteenth century they were streaming off the land in increasing numbers to find new jobs in the towns and cities. Not all of these were in traditional areas. By 1900, more women than ever before were employed as clerks within the booming commercial sector, and there were also many more female teachers, nurses and midwives than ever before.¹¹⁰

The ‘lad o’ pairts’ often came ‘streaming off the land’ - were some of these women in an analogous position? Devine doesn’t think so;

Of equal significance was the notion of a ‘woman’s wage’. An enduring feature of the century from 1830 to 1939 was that most women’s work remained low in both status and in earning power. (Wage differentials) reflected deep-seated social beliefs about women and work. The male wage was that of the family ‘provider.’ Women’s earnings were at best supplementary.¹¹¹

Devine is here reflecting on the wider picture, and cannot be expected to take individual exceptions into account. Nevertheless, for the considerable proportion of women who did not have a husband to provide for them, their earnings were not ‘supplementary.’ A single woman’s wage was not ‘supplementing’ anything. Devine underplays the extent of female employment. He describes the increasing number of female teachers thus ‘Following the establishment of the state-financed pupil-teacher system in 1846, girls were recruited from the skilled working and lower middle classes in large numbers, comprising 35 per cent of the profession in 1851 and 70 per cent in 1911.’¹¹² It is significant that he refers to girls being recruited through the pupil teacher system; he does

¹¹⁰ Devine, T.M. *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007* Penguin Books, 2006, p534.

¹¹¹ Devine, T.M. *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007* Penguin Books, 2006. p. 535.

¹¹² Devine, T.M. *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007* Penguin Books, 2006, p. 534

not mention the existence of a two year teacher training course at Normal College, followed by a probationary period as a teacher. Women, he says ‘were not expected to have the commitment to acquire skills or develop responsibilities’¹¹³ Teachers, however, were expected to do so, as were women in the civil service and nurses. Devine’s analysis of women’s work neatly elides the large number of women who were not married, and who had a professional career in Victorian Scotland. This may seriously mis-read the place of educated women in work in Scottish Victorian society.

There is general agreement over many sources that the year 1851, and the release of firm statistical evidence of ‘surplus women’ kick-started a movement towards careers for women. This overlooks the fact that women had already started to attend Normal College and embark on careers in teaching prior to this. I would argue that this is because the women attending Normal College may not have been part, certainly initially, of the middle class upon whom so much scholarly attention has been focussed. Crossick points out;

The growth of female white collar workers initially presented difficulties for male employees, yet we know little of the wider problems of social relationships involved. How do we locate female white collar workers – especially clerks and schoolteachers – within an analysis of stratification? Stratification theory, and especially studies of historical orientation, has great difficulty in coping with female occupations. The family is classically taken as the unit of analysis, and an uncertain extension of that uses the man’s occupation as the main indicator of family status. More information about the marital status, social origins, and family structure of female employees would help an understanding of the effect of female workers upon the perceived status structure.¹¹⁴

Crossick adds;

¹¹³ Devine, T.M. *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007* Penguin Books, 2006, p. 535.

¹¹⁴ Crossick, G, *The Lower Middle Class in Britain*, Croom Helm, 1977, p. 18.

Where did this growing stratum come from? It had to be recruited from either members or offspring of other classes, either the working class moving upwards or the more established middle class down. From what we know of lower middle class attitudes, their aspirant but not desperate tone, upward mobility seems more likely. Yet, in reality, we know virtually nothing about occupational recruitment during this period.¹¹⁵

Since Crossick wrote this, in 1977, it has become generally accepted that elementary school teachers were drawn from the upwardly mobile skilled working classes and lower middle classes.¹¹⁶ And yet much remains to be researched. What was the lived experience of these women? In this thesis I intend to explore the opportunities for upward social mobility through education and careers and set them in the wider context of women's lives.

There are three aspects to this thesis; firstly, did the Scottish education system enable girls to progress? Secondly, having gained an education, were there careers to enable them to use that education? Thirdly, did those careers enable them to be upwardly socially mobile? It seems logical to argue that only if all three were in place could a girl be the female equivalent of the 'lad o' pairs.'

One model of social mobility is provided by Crossick who explains that;

The lower middle class plays a very specific role in the process of social mobility, whether of a career or an inter-generational type. It is available for those seeking to rise out of the working class, whether into white collar occupations by means of a fairly rudimentary education, or by small capital accumulation into the petty

¹¹⁵ *ibid*, p. 35.

¹¹⁶ There is an Index of Women at the end of this thesis, which includes parental occupation where known. This shows that the women referenced in this thesis came overwhelmingly from the skilled working and lower middle classes.

bourgeoisie.’¹¹⁷

‘Far more important than the simple level of earnings were the relative security and the promise of some kind of salary scale. This was the vital difference between the labour aristocracy and the lower middle class, even at those points at the margin where notional rates of pay appeared the same.’¹¹⁸

Interestingly, women from a skilled working class family were able to access careers in Scottish School Board schools, which carried a very clear salary scale. Women already in the middle classes who taught in fee-paying schools for young ladies, for whom background was more important than qualifications, lacked this salary scale. Similarly, working class girls could access positions in the Post Office, or other civil service positions, which also had clear salary scales. It has been argued that salaried non-manual employment offered the best prospects for social mobility.¹¹⁹

Women could, and did, establish businesses in millinery, or dressmaking, or servant registers, but they faced the same difficulties. The tale of Margaret Oliphant’s heroine ‘Kirsteen’ who made a fortune as a mantua maker with a keen head for business, may have been popular, but few of its readers could have hoped to emulate the astute Kirsteen.¹²⁰ Moreover, Kirsteen may have arrived penniless in London, having fled a prospective marriage, but she regarded herself as part of the social elite and traded on this.

One of the difficulties in establishing social class is the fluidity of the age. A girl born into an upwardly mobile working class family might be lower middle class by the time she finished her education. Take, for example, Helen Spence, whose *Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women* entry describes her, correctly, as the daughter of the Provost of Dufftown.¹²¹ Her father, however, only became Provost some years after she had left home; she didn’t grow up as ‘the Provost’s daughter.’ Each successive census

¹¹⁷ Crossick, G *The Lower Middle Class in Britain*, Croom Helm, 1977, p. 35.

¹¹⁸ Crossick, G *The Lower Middle Class in Britain*, Croom Helm, 1977, p. 34.

¹¹⁹ Crossick, G *The Lower Middle Class in Britain*, Croom Helm, 1977, p. 35.

¹²⁰ *Kirsteen* was first published in 1890. Oliphant, Margaret, *Kirsteen*, Everyman Ltd, 1984.

¹²¹ Pipes, Ewan, Innes, Reynolds (eds) *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women*, EUP, 2006, p. 54.

return shows an improvement in the life of the Spence family, from a very low point shortly before Helen's birth, when her father was an illegitimate agricultural labourer, her mother a domestic servant and her paternal grandmother a washerwoman. Spence was born just four days after her parents' marriage; a fact curiously absent from accounts of her life.¹²² By the time young Helen set off for Teacher Training College in Aberdeen, her family were comfortably off and she continued in the upward trajectory established by her parents, qualifying as a teacher, and then moving upwards through four different teaching posts, gaining a promoted post as Infant Mistress.¹²³ She left teaching to marry Dr Leslie MacKenzie. The couple pooled their talents, investigating the health of Edinburgh's schoolchildren. Eventually they became Sir and Lady Leslie MacKenzie. This life story is almost impossible to quantify in terms of social mobility; were Lady MacKenzie's social origins unskilled working class, or lower middle class? Is it relevant that after she had left home her father continued to prosper and became Provost of Dufftown? To what extent was she simply an assistant to her husband, and socially upwardly mobile through marriage? Or was her decade of teaching experience, including at one school for the very poor, invaluable to their joint upward social mobility? These are some of the complicated issues involved in the interplay of career, family and marriage when investigating female social mobility. Throughout this thesis there are examples of women whose own upward social mobility continued an already-set trajectory of family upward mobility. Indeed it may be that family investment in a daughter's education, enabling her to stay on at school or attend teacher training college might act as a "marker" for a set of family values which predicated upward mobility. Conversely, there were women who were the only members of their family to be upwardly socially mobile; Isabella Chalmers' brothers were a carter, a farmer and an agricultural labourer, whilst her sisters married a railway porter and a farmer.

Robert Anderson points out that 'Intergenerational social mobility through education was only one possible type of mobility' adding that mobility could occur through 'men

¹²² Marriage certificate of William Spence and Mary MacDonell 9 April 1859 135/00 008.

Birth certificate of Helen Spence 13 April 1859 162/00 0025.

¹²³ McCall, A.T. *Aberdeen School Board Female Teachers 1872-1901: a biographical list*, Aberdeen and North East Scotland Family History Society, 2007, p. 54.

improving their positions in the course of a career, or (through) the field of opportunity provided by business.’¹²⁴ He assumes that these forms of social mobility were for men. He also remarks;

The urban masses lacked the intermittent leisure of an agricultural life which had traditionally given young men a chance to take up an interrupted education ; but if their inclinations lay in an academic direction they might make use of the pupil-teacher and training college system, which in the 1860s was still cut off from university influence.¹²⁵

Again, these are described as routes for male social mobility, but the pupil teacher and training college systems, even by the 1860s, were becoming an important resource for young women, too. Moore claims that;

Despite general support for an educational democracy which provided opportunity for upward social mobility for a competitive minority, the social class distinction between the lady of leisure and the working woman inevitably meant that there was some doubt as to whether opportunities for upward social mobility for girls was an equally good thing.¹²⁶

Maria Ogilvie Gordon¹²⁷ wanted an ‘opportunity for each individual woman – no matter in what status she is born.’¹²⁸ Dr Ogilvie Gordon’s place within the lad o’ pairts story is interesting. Her great grandmother, Ann Leslie and her sister, Christian Leslie, married a farmer, William Ogilvie, and a handloom weaver, James Cruickshank, respectively. Christian was widowed when her son, John Cruickshank, was seven. John

¹²⁴ Anderson, R.D. *Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland* Clarendon Press 1983, p. 157.

¹²⁵ *ibid*, p. 158.

¹²⁶ Moore, Lindy, *Bajanellas and Semilinas; Aberdeen University and the Education of Women 1860- 1920* AUP, 1991, p. 129.

¹²⁷ See Mary R. S. Creese, ‘Gordon , Dame Maria Matilda (1864–1939)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/46415>, accessed 26 Oct 2012]

¹²⁸ Moore, Lindy, *Bajanellas and Semilinas; Aberdeen University and the Education of Women 1860- 1920* AUP, 1991, p. 130.

managed to get enough education to win a bursary to Aberdeen University, eventually becoming Professor of mathematics. Ann Leslie's family of six initially seemed to be destined to work in agriculture but one, John, lost a leg in an accident. His cousin James helped him educationally and he, too, went to University, eventually becoming a noted lexographer, and author of *The Imperial Dictionary*. John Ogilvie's brother, William, remained on the farm, but five of his seven children followed the lad o' pairts route, going from parish school to University in Aberdeen and then onto glittering careers; William (1821-1877), rector of Morrison's Academy, Crieff; George (1825 – 1914) headmaster of George Watson's College, Edinburgh; Alexander (1830-1904) Headmaster of Robert Gordon's Hospital (later College) Aberdeen; Joseph (1832- 1914) rector of the Church of Scotland Teacher Training College, Aberdeen; Robert (1833-1899) Chief Inspector of Schools for Scotland. Maria Ogilvie (1864- 1939) was the daughter of the third Ogilvie brother, Alexander. She was expensively educated, gaining a B.Sc from University College, London, before travelling to Germany for her postgraduate studies, gaining a PhD in geology from Munich University. She continued her career in geology after her marriage to Dr John Gordon, but gave it up to take part in public life, including serving as Vice-chair of the International Council of Women. She became Dame Ogilvie Gordon in 1935. Therefore, Maria Ogilvie Gordon, although born to comfort and educational privilege, is part of the lad o' pairts myth in so far as her father and uncles were amongst the iconic 'lads' and her support of social mobility reflects this. The Ogilvie story further suggests the role of women as supporters of the lads; John Cruickshank's early education was provided by a female teacher, Margaret Brown.

The debate on the status of the 'lad o' pairts' within Scottish national mythology has largely ignored women. However, in this introduction I have argued that the lass o' pairts was a recurring literary figure. I have demonstrated that the issue of careers for women was discussed, in particular in the wake of the 1851 census. I have shown that structured careers opened up to women, in particular teaching, but also nursing and, later, the civil service. Corr, Moore and McDermid have tried to introduce a gendered aspect to the debate, from three very different viewpoints; Corr arguing that there was no 'lass o'

pairs' Moore that there may have been a 'lass' but that she has remained invisible and McDermid that women subtly shifted the paradigms to include themselves in another form. Having argued in this introduction that career opportunities did exist, I will examine whether working class and lower middle class girls and young women were able to access sufficient education to take advantage of career opportunities and become upwardly socially mobile. I will focus solely on careers in the teaching profession, in order to examine the subject in depth. I believe that there is sufficient material for careers in nursing and the civil service to justify separate treatment of them elsewhere. This thesis will, therefore, study contemporary documentary evidence for the existence, or non-existence of the 'lass o' pairs' within the teaching profession in mid / late Victorian Scotland.

This is an area in which the researcher is confronted with an embarrassment of riches in respect of original sources. School Board records detail teachers appointments, promotions and salaries; newspapers, many now searchable online, report on local education. Individual lives can be traced through successive decennial census returns, and the registers of births, marriages and deaths. The Victorian love of record-keeping means that the life story of virtually any female teacher¹²⁹ can be reconstructed; potentially tens of thousands of womens' lives could be catalogued. In this thesis I have combined genealogical techniques with a 'questioning sources' strategy, to unravel the lives of women; to discover their class origins and to investigate whether they were able to utilise education to pursue a career and become upwardly socially mobile as a result; that is, whether they were able to become a 'lass o' pairs.'

¹²⁹ The main difficulty arises in the case of women with common names; Aberdeen at one point had three Helen Johnstones teaching in School Board Schools. Generally, in this study, where it has been impossible to identify a woman, it is because there were several women with the same name born in the same area in the same year.

Chapter One

The Five Areas.

In this thesis I have chosen to focus on five different areas in Scotland. I have chosen the five areas as representing contrasting geographies, economies, historical origins and social structures, in order to more fully assess the educational and career opportunities available to women in mid / late Victorian Scotland. These five areas have been chosen to cover as wide a spectrum of Scottish life as possible. It is hoped that the availability of opportunities for women within these areas might be telling, and help illuminate the factors which affected women's opportunities. The five areas chosen are, the contiguous parishes of Kildonan, Loth and Clyne in East Sutherland; Aberdeen; Dundee; Govan and Edinburgh. Thus, both urban and rural, white collar and industrial, and affluent and impoverished areas are covered. Historically, Edinburgh and Aberdeen had long histories, and establishments which dated back for centuries. Aberdeen Grammar School, for example, dates back to 1257.¹³⁰ Dundee likewise had a long history, although it suffered a serious setback when it was sacked, firstly by the Royalist army in 1645, and then again by Cromwell's troops in 1651, when a sixth of its population was killed, and its city walls destroyed. Govan was a creation of nineteenth century industrialisation, although it had an ancient ecclesiastical history. Loth was one of several parishes which claimed to have had the last wolf in Scotland; it was also the birthplace of the last woman to be burnt as a witch in Scotland.¹³¹ The main towns of Kildonan, Loth and Clyne, Helmsdale and Brora, were largely populated by those who had been cleared from the crofting areas of the parishes in the Clearances on 1815.

As can be seen on the map on the following page, four of the areas are on the east coast of Scotland, reflecting the fact that the eastern half of Scotland is more uniformly populated than the western half. Kildonan, Loth and Clyne on the east coast of Sutherland cover a total area of 356 square miles. Kildonan and Clyne are long and narrow parishes, with Loth sandwiched between them. All three are glens, following the

¹³⁰ See e.g. Dennison, E.P, Ditchburn, D, and Lynch, M. (eds) *Aberdeen Before 1800; A New History*, Tuckwell Press, 2002.

¹³¹ <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Sutherland/Loth/6/321/> last accessed on 11 September 2013.

course of a river, bounded by hills on either side; the rivers Helmsdale (also known as the Ullie) and Brora and the smaller Lothburn. Although the hills of east Sutherland cannot match those of west Sutherland in grandeur, there are several small mountains within the three parishes, such as Beinn Dhorain (2046 feet) and Carn Garbh (1788 feet). Within the three parishes are two towns, Helmsdale (created in 1819 for those cleared from the upper reaches of the strath) and Brora, with the

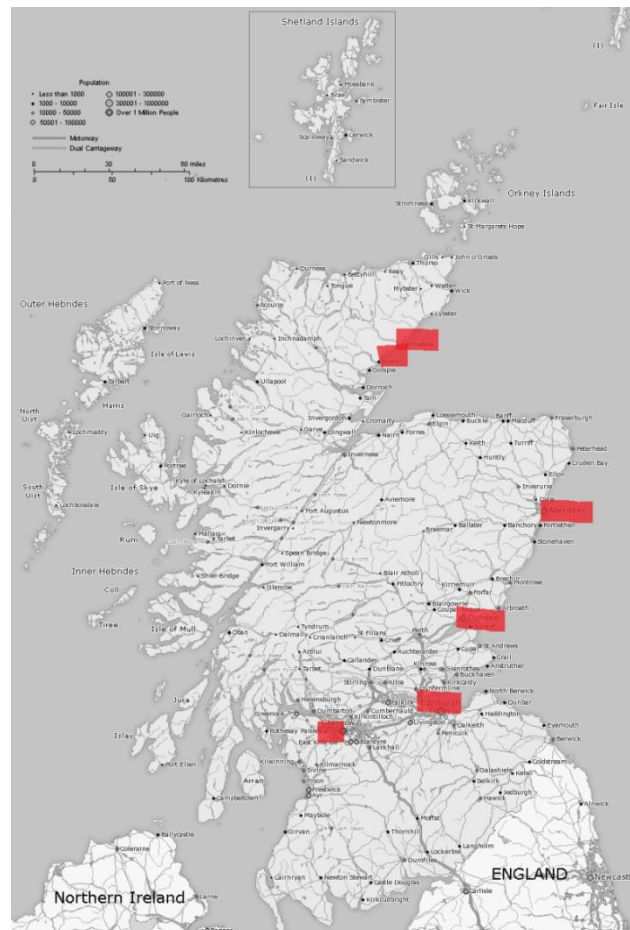


Illustration 1. Map of Scotland,¹³² showing the location of the five areas chosen.

remainder of the area sparsely populated. Aberdeen is situated between the rivers Dee and Don. It has a port and a large, fertile, agricultural hinterland to the north and east.

¹³² Map adapted from the free maps provided on <http://www.itraveluk.co.uk/maps/scotland.html>, last accessed on 31 August 2013.

Dundee is situated on the river Tay, with a harbour and a rural hinterland. Edinburgh, the capital city of Scotland is situated on the Firth of Forth. The only area on the western side of Scotland is Govan, which is also the only area not to be situated on a coast. It is to the immediate south west of Glasgow. However, like the other areas it is situated on a river, the river Clyde. Geographical location might be expected to affect educational opportunity, in that remote areas might have more difficulty in accessing schools, colleges, libraries and job opportunities. However, the burgeoning transport infrastructure, which transformed many aspects of Victorian life, must be considered in conjunction with geographical location. Edinburgh, being Scotland's capital city, was the best served by railways,¹³³ roads and by the Forth and Clyde Canal. It was a hub from which transport links radiated throughout Scotland and to England. It also had access to European ports through the adjacent port of Leith, which ultimately became part of Edinburgh. Govan's proximity to Glasgow meant that Glasgow's transport links were accessible. In 1759, the Clyde Navigation Act was passed and the task of deepening the river began, allowing larger ships to make their way up the Clyde to the centre of Glasgow, which gave Govan good transport links to the west of Scotland and to Ireland. Dundee had transport links by road with towns such as Perth, Forfar and Kirriemuir and by ferry with Fife and the south.

The railway connected Dundee with Arbroath in 1838, and railway links spread further thereafter. The tram system within Dundee began in 1877. The ill-fated first Tay Rail Bridge was opened in 1878, improving Dundee's transport links with Edinburgh. After its tragic collapse in 1879, it was quickly replaced. Prior to 1800, Aberdeen was isolated. It was connected by toll roads to its hinterland and beyond, and by sea to London. It was connected by canal to Inverurie from 1807 until 1850, when the canal was drained, and the canal bed used for a railway line. The railway from the south reached Aberdeen in 1850. Aberdeen was connected by rail to Banchory in 1853 (extending to Ballater by 1866), Huntly in 1854, (extending to Inverness by 1858),

¹³³ Edinburgh's railway infrastructure dates back to the early 1830s, although initially it was used for transporting coal.

Peterhead in 1862, and Fraserburgh in 1865.¹³⁴ Its relative isolation from the central belt encouraged Aberdeen's growth as a local hub for the Grampian area. Of the five areas, east Sutherland was by far the most isolated. Although Brora is only some fifty, and Helmsdale some sixty, miles north of Inverness as the crow flies, overland transport to Inverness was made difficult and expensive by the three firths on the east coast; the Dornoch Firth, the Cromarty Firth and the Beauly Firth, each of which had to be crossed by ferry, or circumnavigated. The Dornoch Firth was bridged by Thomas Telford in 1812, but the other firths were not bridged until the late twentieth century. The railway line from Inverness reached Golspie to the south in 1868 and Kildonan, Loth and Clyne in 1870, with stations in each parish. The line was then extended north from Helmsdale to Wick and Thurso in 1874. Fishing boats travelled between Helmsdale and Brora and the Moray and Banffshire coasts. It may be assumed therefore, that women in Edinburgh benefitted most from the variety of opportunities which exist in a capital city, and that women in East Sutherland were most likely to find themselves cut off, both by geographical location, and poor transport infrastructure.

As can be seen from Table 1.1, each of the three areas had a distinctive population profile.

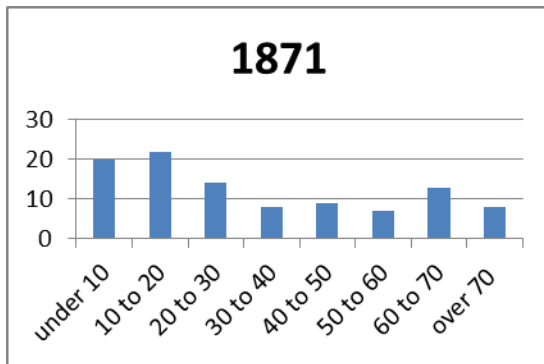
Table 1.1 – the population of the five areas 1841-1891.

<i>Parish</i>	<i>1841</i>	<i>1851</i>	<i>1871</i>	<i>1881</i>	<i>1891</i>
Total of three East Sutherland parishes	4547	4861	4232	4334	-----
Aberdeen	63,262	71, 973	100,000 (approx.)	105,082	110,541
Dundee	45,000	79,000	119,000	140,000	155,675
Govan	7,810	14,996	19,200	50,492	
Edinburgh	133, 692	165,627	196,979	222,059	269, 407 (inc Leith)

¹³⁴ Fraser, W.H. and Lee, C.H. (eds) *Aberdeen A New History 1800-2000*, Tuckwell Press, 2000, p. 82.

Of the five, east Sutherland was by far the smallest, and the only one whose population remained relatively stable. This was due to steady emigration from the area to Australia, Canada and New Zealand. Others left the area for shorter spells, seeking work in the cities. This created a ‘missing generation’ of adult workers, as can be seen from the Table 1.2 which shows the age profile of Marrel, Kildonan, in 1871, and is representative of the area. There was virtually no in-migration to the area, as employment opportunities were rare. As the majority of the population had been born there, there was considerable intermarriage and complicated family relationships.

Table 1.2- Marrel, Kildonan; Age profile in the 1871 census.



Govan initially had the second smallest population, less than double that of the east Sutherland parishes. It was a rural area with a village which grew rapidly with industrialization from the 1850s, peaking after 1900. The increase was uneven, and included drops of population during periods of industrial depression, in 1877-79 and 1884-87. There was a brief depression from 1877-1879, when the population dropped by 2,000.¹³⁵ The Boer War created a further boom between 1897 and 1903, when the population increased rapidly from 69,000 to 91,000. By 1901 it was the seventh largest town in Scotland and in 1912 it was absorbed into Glasgow. The rapid growth was due to mainly young adults flocking into an area in which they could find work; these young adults then married and had children, creating a young age profile for Govan. In 1881

¹³⁵ Campbell, Calum, *The Making of a Clydeside Working Class; Shipbuilding and Working Class Organisation in Govan* Communist Party History Group, 1986, p. 7.

slightly under a quarter of the population of Govan was under the age of ten and over half the population was under the age of twenty. Large Victorian schools were built to educate this burgeoning population, and female teachers were needed to staff them. Dundee had the third largest population at the outset. Its population grew from 79,000 in 1851, to 91,000 in 1861, to 119,000 in 1871 to 140,000 in 1881. One interesting feature is that its growth exemplified that of the typical British city during this period as Dundee's ranking amongst British cities remained constant; between 1851 and 1881 it varied between being the fifteenth largest city in Britain to the seventeenth, and was sixteenth largest in 1881. Over the same period Aberdeen, also a growing city, slid steadily from sixteenth largest to twenty-fourth.¹³⁶ In Aberdeen the population increased from 26,992 in 1801, to 71,973 in 1851. It passed 100,000 during the 1870s and reached 150,000 by 1900.¹³⁷ Although Aberdeen grew steadily, it grew at a slower rate than either Dundee or Govan, although at no point did the population decrease. Edinburgh had the largest population of the five areas throughout the period. In 1811, Edinburgh was the third largest city in Britain, after London and Glasgow. Neighbouring Leith also grew rapidly, and merged with Edinburgh, although the two did not officially become one until 1920. It can be seen, therefore, that each area had a distinctive population profile, in terms of size and rate of growth.

Women outnumbered men generally throughout Scotland during the nineteenth century. In 1851, there were 1, 375,479 males and 1, 513, 263 females in Scotland, i.e. 47.6% of the population was male 52.4% female. This disparity was caused by the high levels of male emigration from Scotland. Each of the five areas had a different gender balance within its population.

¹³⁶ Best, Geoffrey, *Mid Victorian Britain 1851-75, (third impression)*, Fontana Press, 1985, p. 29.

¹³⁷ Blaikie, Andrew, "People in the City" in Fraser, W.H. and Lee, C, (eds) *Aberdeen 1800-2000; a New History*, Tuckwell Press, 2000, pp. 44-45.

Table 1.3 – the gender balance in 1851 by area.

Area	Number of men	Number of women	Percentage of men	Percentage of women
Loth	279	361	43.6	56.4
Edinburgh	29, 352	37,382	44.0	56.0
Aberdeen	31, 746	40, 227	44.1	55.9
Dundee	28, 149	33, 300	45.8	54.2
Clyne	890	1,043	46.0	54.0
Kildonan	1, 058	1,230	46.2	53.8
Scotland	1, 375, 479	1, 513, 263	47.6	52.4
Govan	7,286	7, 710	48.6	51.4

East Sutherland where emigration was notably high had a larger discrepancy than the Scottish average. In 1851, Loth had 43.6% male and 56.4% female, Clyne was 46% male, 54 % female, and Kildonan was 46.2% male and 53.8% female. One further gender imbalance was caused by the practice of delayed marriage amongst men who had waited to inherit the family croft, and who then married much younger women and started a family at a late age. This ultimately resulted in households with children headed by a widow. Aberdeen, too, had a large discrepancy; 44.1 % male and 55.9% female in 1851, again attributed to male out-migration and emigration. Dundee, which was known as the ‘Women’s Town’ had a lower percentage of women in 1851 than Aberdeen; 45.8% male, 54.2% female. The ‘Women’s Town’ was often regarded with disfavour: Expressing patriarchal concern about the gender imbalance, the *Dundee Social Union*, a philanthropic organisation noted ‘between the ages of 20 and 45, Dundee has three women for every two men, and around this significant fact hang some of the most serious problems.’¹³⁸ Thus, Dundee’s situation was quite different from that of Kildonan or Aberdeen – instead of having a gender imbalance due to the absence of men, it had a gender imbalance due to the presence of women; and these women were not ‘surplus’ in

¹³⁸ Wainwright, Emma M. ‘Constructing gendered workplace” types”: the weaver-millworker distinction in Dundee’s jute industry, c 1880-1910’, *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, Volume 14, Issue 4, 2007, p.4.

the sense that they had no employment. Moreover, the ‘surplus’ was working-class not middle class, and the problem was diametrically opposed to the national ‘surplus woman’ issue—these women were not idle, but fully occupied. Indeed, worried commentators argued that they were over-occupied and neglected their homes and children in order to work. Hence there is a fascinating dichotomy – when women outnumbered men, they were a ‘problem’ regardless of occupation or class. Moreover, as will be seen later, they were a problem if they did not work, because of their dependency on their families, and a problem if they did work, because they were seen as taking away ‘men’s jobs.’ In Govan, although females outnumbered males, the figures were lower than the national average, with 48.6% male and 51.4% female. In Edinburgh, 44% were male, and 56% female. Therefore, women outnumbered men in all five areas, and only in Govan was there a lower percentage of women than the national average.

The populations of the five areas were shaped by different patterns of in- and out-migration. Kildonan, Loth and Clyne had virtually no in-migration, as there were few jobs to attract incomers. They had a steady stream of emigration, both to Scottish cities and to Canada, Australia and New Zealand. Emigrants wrote to family members who had remained and encouraged them to emigrate, too. The majority of those who moved into Aberdeen came from its rural hinterland, whose population was contracting as new farming methods made agriculture less labour intensive. MacLaren comments that;

Aberdeen differed radically from Dundee and other urban centres in Scotland. The population of the city was far more homogenous than any other comparable urban centre. The 1851 census revealed that out of a population of about 72000 less than 20000 were derived from outside the city or county. The influx of the Irish, which was a particular feature of the 1840s in other Scottish cities, was notably absent from Aberdeen. Indeed the number of English-born residents slightly outnumbered the Irish.¹³⁹

¹³⁹ MacLaren, A.A. “Patronage and Professionalism: The ‘Forgotten Middle Class’ 1760-1860” in McCrone, David, Lendrick, Stephen and Straw, Pat (eds) *The Making of Scotland: Nation, Culture and Social Change*, EUP, 1989, p. 126.

Many male University graduates left to seek their fortune abroad. Families which had migrated to various parts of the Empire often sent children back to Aberdeen for their education. Expanding Aberdeen offered a range of employment for incomers; both building new properties and providing new services for its population. Dundee attracted in-migration to work in the textile industry, both from its hinterland and from further afield. Much of Dundee's increase in population was Irish; by 1851, 19% of Dundee's population was Irish born.¹⁴⁰ The 1871 census showed 12% Irish born, with small numbers of European immigrants, Germans, Italians and Russian Jews appearing later. The Irish remained a defined community, marrying within their community and with the Roman Catholic Church providing a focus. Not all those born abroad were immigrants, however, as some birthplaces suggest army families; Joanna Donaldson, confectioner, was born in Peshawar, Afghanistan¹⁴¹ and Betsy Doig, millworker, was born in Egypt.¹⁴² The presence of so many born outwith Scotland means that literacy rates for Dundee do not accurately reflect the state of Scottish education; however, low literacy cannot be blamed entirely on immigrants; as will be subsequently demonstrated, education in Dundee was poor. Although the jute industry provided employment for incomers, the fact that so many were employed in a single industry made these jobs vulnerable to boom times and slack times. Govan, having been a village, was composed almost entirely of migrant workers from the Highlands of Scotland or other parts of Scotland and from Ireland. In 1871, 95% of its heads of household had been born outside Govan, of which 65% came from elsewhere in Lowland Scotland, 20% came from the Highlands and 15% from Ireland.¹⁴³ In 1891 94% of heads of household were born outwith Govan.¹⁴⁴ In this respect, Govan was a complete contrast to East Sutherland. Its west coast location made it particularly accessible for Irish immigration. Edinburgh attracted migrants from other parts of Scotland and beyond, attracted by the range of employment. It attracted middle

¹⁴⁰ Whatley, Christopher, Swinfen, David B, Smith, Annette M, *The Life and Times of Dundee* Edinburgh, John Donald Publishers Ltd., 1993, p. 104.

¹⁴¹ 1881 census 282-1 18 9

¹⁴² 1881 census 282-2 15 9

¹⁴³ Campbell, Calum, *The Making of a Clydeside Working Class; Shipbuilding and Working Class Organisation in Govan* Communist Party History Group, 1986, p. 2.

¹⁴⁴ Campbell, Calum, *The Making of a Clydeside Working Class; Shipbuilding and Working Class Organisation in Govan* Communist Party History Group, 1986, p. 7.

class immigrants from other parts of Britain and Europe seeking work in the professions. Edinburgh had a smaller Irish immigrant population.

Each area had a different range of employment. East Sutherland was predominantly a crofting and fishing area, with few options open to women. The only industries were distilling, fishing-related industries such as coopering, and working in the small coal mine which were all occupations restricted to men. Dundee was heavily dependent on the textile industry; its port enabled the import of raw materials. In the early nineteenth century the industry focussed on flax and hemp, and small scale hand weaving. The introduction of steam power to textile mills increased productivity and made hand looms economic. From 1836, when David Baxter built a powerloom weaving factory the move towards large scale textile mills was inexorable. The move towards jute followed. Dundee was eventually known as 'Juteopolis' such was the size of the jute industry. The jute industry was a major employer of women; indeed women formed a large majority of the workers in the mills, as spinners, weavers and other roles. The ready availability of employment in the jute mills drew in women from the surrounding hinterland, and beyond. One study found that 55% of the mid-nineteenth century female textile workforce in Dundee was Irish.¹⁴⁵ (Irish immigrants, who were not educated in Scotland, are outwith the scope of this thesis.) Work in the jute mills was divided between the weavers and the spinners. Spinning had traditionally been women's work, but weaving had been a 'man's job.' The introduction of the powerloom in the early nineteenth century and new working conditions enabled mill owners to replace men with lower-paid women. However, although female weavers were paid less than men, they were better paid than female spinners. This distinction was keenly felt. 'Weavers sought to construct themselves as a 'class superior'; by asserting femininity upon a traditionally male job they made women's work 'respectable', a respectability constructed, in part, in contrast to millworkers.'¹⁴⁶ The route into work as a weaver and work as a spinner was

¹⁴⁵ Collins, B. Aspects of the Irish Immigration into two Scottish towns (Dundee and Paisley) during the mid – nineteenth century M.Phil thesis, University of Edinburgh 1978, quoted in Gordon, George (ed) *Perspectives of the Scottish City*, AUP, 1985.

¹⁴⁶ Wainwright, Emma M. 'Constructing gendered workplace" types": the weaver-millworker distinction in Dundee's jute industry, c 1880-1910', *Gender, Place & Culture: A Journal of Feminist Geography*, Volume 14, Issue 4, 2007, p. 18.

different; spinners could not progress up to the better paid weaving jobs. Skilled men tended to leave to find work elsewhere, notably in Glasgow's heavy industry and shipbuilding.¹⁴⁷ Dundee had a small middle class and few opportunities for men, let alone women, in white collar work.

Govan, too, had one major industry, but in this case it was the male dominated shipbuilding industry. By 1870, Govan was producing almost 10% of the shipping built in Britain. Not only did Govan have a large shipbuilding industry, it also had myriad small businesses, and medium sized businesses servicing the needs of the new population. Simonton's comment on white collar work; 'Because the work was 'new' in the way that it was organised and understood, both men and women had to stake their claim to it, and different accommodations to gender emerged as a result.'¹⁴⁸ is especially true in Govan, where everything was new. The 1881 census includes 170 female clerks, ranging from the elite civil service, post office and telegraph clerks to clerks in every sort of small business. The census indicates that the majority came from skilled working class homes, the daughters of ships carpenters, bootmakers, storekeepers, and the lower middle classes, the daughters of shopkeepers and clerks. Both Aberdeen and Edinburgh were hubs for service industries such as education, banking and insurance. Aberdeen had a range of other industries, such as fishing, paper-making, granite and textiles. A comb-making industry, utilising the horns which were a by-product of the cattle rearing industry, was unique to Aberdeen. Dips in the textile industry impacted negatively on the local economy, but not to the extent of the impact of recessions in Dundee. Edinburgh had a printing industry. Edinburgh's pattern of female employment differed from that of the other four areas. A large middle class required female domestic servants, and more than half of all women in employment in Edinburgh until after 1871 were in domestic service, with women migrating to Edinburgh for such jobs.

¹⁴⁷ McDermid, Jane, 'No longer curiously rare but only just within bound; women in Scottish history'. *Paper given at International Federation for Research in Women's History, Sydney Conference, 2005.*

¹⁴⁸ Simonton, D, *Work, Trade and Commerce* in Abrams, Gordon, Simonton and Yeo, *Gender in Scottish History since 1700*, EUP, 2006, p. 219.

Each area had problems with housing; Edinburgh had started the trend for middle class expansion, leaving poor areas of the city to fall into disrepair and become slum dwellings. During the nineteenth century, Aberdeen, too, started to grow outwards, with middle class suburbs to the west, respectable working class areas to the north, and pockets of extreme poverty and deprivation around the harbour and the Gallowgate. This separation of classes precluded the rural ideal of different classes being educated in the same school. As in Aberdeen, the social classes in Dundee separated out during the nineteenth century. The poorer areas became more overcrowded and insanitary, with a high infant mortality rate and degenerated into slums. The railway made it possible for middle class breadwinners to commute from Broughty Ferry or further afield, although Miskell suggests that this move away did not happen until the 1850s.¹⁴⁹ Dundee's main problem was the lack of new housing. As the population increased, overcrowding became steadily worse. In 1851, while Aberdeen's population of 72, 000 were accommodated in 6,056 buildings, (including multi-household tenements) Dundee's 79,000 were crammed into 3, 548 buildings. Govan had housing problems caused by the rate of expansion and the speed at which new properties had to be built, leading to substandard buildings. In 1882 four children were killed and many others injured when a poorly built school outbuilding collapsed in the playground.¹⁵⁰

In Dundee, the wealthy were very wealthy; the 'jute barons' amassed fortunes and built mansions for their families. The poor were very poor. In between there was a relatively small middle class, and some of that middle class, too, was dependent on the jute industry, working as clerks and other white collar occupations. However, of all the cities in Scotland, Dundee had the least expansion of male clerical work between 1841 and 1901.¹⁵¹ Female clerical work was extremely limited in Dundee; I have found only nine so far in the 1881 census¹⁵² compared to 170 in Govan. The small middle class

¹⁴⁹ Miskell, Louise, "Civic Leadership and the Manufacturing Elite: Dundee 1820-1870" in Miskell, Louise, Whatley, Christopher A. and Harris, Bob, (eds) *Victorian Dundee: Image and Realities*, Tuckwell Press, 2002.

¹⁵⁰ This was widely covered in the press. See e.g. *Glasgow Herald*, 21 March 1882.

¹⁵¹ Rodger, R. *Employment, Wages and Poverty in the Scottish Cities 1841-1914* in Gordon, G (ed) *Perspectives of the Scottish City* AUP 1985, p. 29.

¹⁵² Catherine Wallace, Eliza Nicoll, Barbara Davie, Margaret Todd, Kate Reid, Maryann Lowson, Henrietta McConachie and Marguerite Wilson, Elizabeth D Mitchell.

affected female employment, as of the four main Scottish cities, Dundee consistently had the smallest number of domestic servants. In 1871, just over 41% of occupied females in Edinburgh were employed as indoor servants; in Aberdeen it was 25%; and in Glasgow, around 17%. In Dundee, by contrast, less than 8% of the occupied female population were employed as indoor domestic servants.¹⁵³ East Sutherland, too, lacked a middle class, with a few extremely wealthy landowners and a large numbers of poor crofters. Some shipbuilding families became extremely wealthy in Govan, but the skilled nature of shipbuilding meant that the skilled working classes and middle classes grew apace of the general expansion of the population. Both Edinburgh and Aberdeen had a well-established middle class, based round the professions, the University, and successful businesses. The class profile, therefore, was different in each area; although class signifiers of wealth, status and opportunity were consistent throughout Scotland.

Aberdeen had the highest level of illegitimacy of any city in Scotland during the nineteenth century. This was partly because illegitimacy was endemic in rural Aberdeenshire and Banffshire, where an illegitimate child could be easily incorporated into rural life.¹⁵⁴ East Sutherland, governed by the strict mores of the Free Church had one of the lowest rates in Scotland. High rates of illegitimacy are associated with Aberdeen, but Dundee was notorious for different vice; the participation of women in its heavy drinking culture. The newspapers included regular stories of women appearing in court charged with being drunk and disorderly, or with having taken part in quarrels which turned violent. One fish seller, Mag Gow, appeared in court on drink-related charges on over two hundred occasions over thirty years. Mary Ann Stewart appeared in court for the 139th time on 3rd Sept 1894¹⁵⁵ and other women, too, were regularly ‘drunk and disorderly.’ This appeared to have been a purely working class phenomenon, but

¹⁵³ Merchant, Jan, “An Insurrection of Maids”: domestic servants and the agitation of 1872” in Miskell, Louise, Whatley, Christopher A. and Harris, Bob, (eds) *Victorian Dundee: Image and Realities*, Tuckwell Press, 2000, p. 112.

¹⁵⁴ See e.g. Blaikie, Andrew, *Illegitimacy, Sex and Society; North East Scotland, 1750-1900*, Clarendon Press, 1993.

¹⁵⁵ *The Dundee Courier and Argus* 4 Sept 1894, p. 2.

possibly better-off families could conceal drunkenness; it was one of Mary Slessor's family's badges of respectability that they 'hid' her father's alcoholism.¹⁵⁶

In east Sutherland most people could speak Gaelic, although monoglot Gaelic speakers were rare. As the period progressed, English was seen as the language of opportunity and English was increasingly used. Both Aberdeen and Dundee had enough Gaelic speakers to form Gaelic congregations, but the people who formed these congregations were bilingual English / Gaelic speakers. Highland immigrants to Govan may also have spoken Gaelic, but again, they were bilingual. Language was only likely to hinder a girl's opportunities if she was a monoglot Gaelic speaker; therefore this was only an issue in East Sutherland.

The religious profile of the five areas was also different. Kildonan, Loth and Clyne were completely Protestant; there was no place for Roman Catholics to worship. The Disruption of 1843 resulted in a large sector joining the Free Church. The Free Church exerted a large influence on the area, with strict Sabbath observance. Aberdeen, too, was predominantly Protestant. All fifteen ministers in Aberdeen left the Church of Scotland at the Disruption, causing a huge amount of church building and duplication of church activities in the creation of the new Free Church. This also created more roles for women as teachers.¹⁵⁷ The Disruption impacted not only on the religious profile of Scotland, but also on its class structure. The Free Church of Scotland drew the majority of its membership from the skilled working classes and lower middle classes; positions of authority within the church, such as elderships, conferred social standing and respectability. Of course, there were other social signifiers of respectability, such as membership of a Temperance group, or subscription to a lending library, but these were often intertwined with religious identity. Aberdeen also had a number of smaller denominations, including Congregationalists. The Roman Catholic church was small, but active. Roman Catholics tended to be from old Scottish families, rather than Irish

¹⁵⁶ Livingstone, W.P. *Mary Slessor of Calabar; Pioneer Missionary*, Hodder and Stoughton Limited, 1924, p. 6.

¹⁵⁷ See e.g. MacLaren, A.A. *Religion and Social Class; the Disruption Years in Aberdeen*, Routledge & Kegan Paul, 1974.

immigrants although the small Italian community was also important. Dundee was a religiously diverse city. It had a sizeable Roman Catholic population, owing to the influx of Irish migrants, served primarily by St Andrews Cathedral, built in 1836. The Glassite sect was founded in Dundee in the 18th century and continued into the nineteenth century, and the Sandemanian sect was also associated with Dundee. There was a Gaelic church serving immigrants from the Scottish Highlands. In the late nineteenth century there were enough European immigrants to establish both a synagogue and a German speaking church. The jute barons themselves, although all Protestant, were members of a variety of churches, including the Church of Scotland, Congregational Church, Free Church, Episcopalian, and Baptist. Govan had a very ancient church history, with a religious tradition spanning many centuries. It also had a large influx of Irish Roman Catholics. Edinburgh had a distinctive religious identity as it was the administrative centre of the Church of Scotland and the Free Church of Scotland, hosting the annual General Assemblies. St Giles Cathedral on the Royal Mile is regarded as the Mother Church of Presbyterianism, and Edinburgh was also the scene of the 1843 Disruption. Each of the five areas, therefore, had a different religious composition, which would have affected the culture within which girls were raised.

Politically, east Sutherland was distinctive in having political turmoil during the second half of the nineteenth century with the unrest and protest amongst crofters which came to be known as the Crofters' War of the 1880s, and the formation of the Highland Land League.¹⁵⁸ However, women played a limited role in east Sutherland's political life. Political involvement gave men status in the community.

Two of the areas had Universities at the outset of the period; Edinburgh and Aberdeen. Govan was in close proximity to Glasgow University. Dundee was not a University city until University College was founded in 1881 with large bequests from the Baxter family, principally Mary Ann Baxter. East Sutherland was remote from any University influence, being over one hundred and fifty miles by road from the nearest University in Aberdeen. The benefits to women of living in a University city were

¹⁵⁸ See e.g. MacPhail, I.M.M. *The Crofters' War*, acair, 1989.

extremely limited, especially for working class and lower middle class women who were unlikely to mix with University staff.

All of the areas had a long history of education. The Education Act 1696 legislated for a school in every parish but, despite this, in the 1790s Clyne had no school. There was, however, a parish schoolmaster who taught 'reading, writing and a little arithmetic' in his own home. The parish school system in the Highlands had been supplemented by 'Society Schools' provided by the Society for Propagating Christian Knowledge.¹⁵⁹ A Society School had existed in the Strathbrora district of Clyne, but had ceased to exist by the 1790s resulting in no provision for education, although a school was something with the people valued 'and would do anything in their power to obtain.'¹⁶⁰ In Loth the parish had previously 'frequently wanted a schoolmaster' on account of the low salary and lack of schoolhouse. However, when the first Statistical account for Loth was written, there was a 'decent schoolhouse' attended by between thirty and forty scholars.¹⁶¹ Kildonan had two schools, the Parish school, with 'upwards of 30' pupils, and a Society School with 'rather more.'¹⁶² The pupils at the Society School were 'in general very poor' indicating that the Society Schools did make education accessible to the lowest class in society. Education was at a low ebb in Dundee, too, in the late eighteenth century. The Rev. Robert Small reported that 'the greatest of all the disadvantages of Dundee is the almost total want of public institutions, even for the most simple and necessary parts of education; nor, excepting a reputable grammar school, is there an opportunity for parents to have their children instructed in any branch of human literature; and this defect is not supplied by any tolerable public library.'¹⁶³ In 1653, the church in Govan mandated that parents must pay school fees, regardless of whether or not they attended. This encouraged attendance as parents wanted to gain some benefit for the fees they paid. In the late eighteenth century Govan had a Parish School, and four private schools. The Abraham Hill mortification (which

¹⁵⁹ See e.g. Anderson, R.D. *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918* Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 35.

¹⁶⁰ <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Sutherland/Clyne/10/303/> last accessed 11 September 2013.

¹⁶¹ <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Sutherland/Loth/6/315/> last accessed 11 Sept. 2013.

¹⁶² <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Sutherland/Kildonan/3/409/> last accessed 11 Sept. 2013.

¹⁶³ <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Forfar/Dundee/8/244/> last accessed on 11 Sept. 2013.

will be described in Chapter Two) paid for the education of ten poor children.¹⁶⁴ The parish school had a playground attached and was sufficiently well regarded to attract the children of the wealthier members of the community. In this respect, it was the sort of rural school from which the ‘lad o’ pairts’ traditionally came.

In Aberdeen, there was considerable provision of education for poor boys, with Robert Gordon’s Hospital providing for sixty boys¹⁶⁵ and the Poor Hospital educating a further twenty-five. Girls in the Poor Hospital were, unlike the boys, not taught to read and write, but were instead taught to knit.¹⁶⁶ Thain’s Bequest provided for forty boys and girls.¹⁶⁷ Advertisements in the *Aberdeen Journal* indicate that there several day and boarding schools for ‘young ladies’ in Aberdeen in the late eighteenth and early nineteenth centuries.¹⁶⁸ Edinburgh had a parish school teaching sixty children, plus a Sunday school educating a further hundred.¹⁶⁹ Edinburgh, too, had many schools providing for the middle classes. In the majority of reports in the first Statistical Account, the writers refer to ‘children’ rather than ‘boys’ which may indicate that girls were being educated alongside their brothers. Only in Aberdeen is a distinction made between girls and boys.

In conclusion, this chapter, which has sought to describe the environment in which working-class and lower middle class girls lived in each of the five areas demonstrates the complexity of local conditions, clearly demonstrating that many different factors interacted to create distinctive local conditions. Each of the five areas had markedly different characteristics over a range of socio-economic factors. Girls and women in East Sutherland were disadvantaged by both factors which impacted on both sexes, such as geographical isolation, poor transport links and lack of infrastructure, and by factors which impacted particularly on them, such as the male-dominated nature of most local occupations. Girls and women in Aberdeen and Edinburgh benefitted from the

¹⁶⁴ <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Lanark/Govan/14/292/> last accessed on 11 Sept. 2013.

¹⁶⁵ <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Aberdeen/Aberdeen/19/187/> last accessed on 11 Sept. 2013.

¹⁶⁶ <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Aberdeen/Aberdeen/19/190/> last accessed 11 Sept 2013.

¹⁶⁷ <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Aberdeen/Aberdeen/19/193/> last accessed 11 Sept. 2013. .

¹⁶⁸ E.g. the *Aberdeen Journal* 23 January 1811 refers to the transfer of ownership of a girls’ school in North Street, which had been run by Miss Rankin for 26 years.

¹⁶⁹ <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1791-99/Edinburgh/Edinburgh/6/576/> last accessed 11 Sept. 2013.

range of industries and employment opportunities. Meanwhile, women in Govan experienced the advantages and disadvantages of a boom-and-bust economy; new businesses and industries were more likely to employ women in white-blouse occupations. Although women flocked to Dundee because of the vast number of jobs in the jute industry, the jobs were physically demanding and usually poorly paid. Women in Dundee had a unique identity as wage earners which gave them an independence rarely found elsewhere, but educational opportunities were limited, and health and housing were poor. In the next chapter, I intend to examine the basic elementary education which was available and accessible to girls in each of the five areas.

Chapter Two

Basic Educational Provision.

Introduction

In this chapter I am going to examine basic educational provision in each area, for girls from the working classes or lower middle classes. The ‘lad o’ pairts’ route to upwards social mobility is often described as a ‘ladder of opportunity.’ Clearly, if a basic education wasn’t available, then the lass o’ pairts route didn’t even have a first rung. Prior to 1872, education was not compulsory, and therefore a gender gap between the provision of education for boys and for girls could, and did, exist. This gender gap must be examined to discover if the gap was due to parental attitudes or systemic lack of provision. The successes as well as the failures of the system must be examined. A basic education was enshrined in law by the Education (Scotland) Act 1872, and, indeed, education was generally available well before that date. Such legislation is only effective if it has widespread social support and a physical infrastructure of schools and teachers. In this chapter I am going to examine elementary education in each area more closely, to identify the possibilities conferred by, and the drawbacks attached to, education for working class and lower middle class girls. I am going to examine the provision prior to 1872 initially, and then the post-1872 provision focussing on the differences between the areas which may have impacted on the provision and accessibility of female elementary education.

The situation immediately prior to 1872.

The extent of the education available in Kildonan, Loth and Clyne immediately prior to 1872 is not clear. There were two church-run schools in Brora, one Free Church and the other Established Church, plus a sewing school for girls. There was also a long-established school at Doll, two miles from Brora, founded by the Glasgow Gaelic Society. There was likewise a school in Helmsdale, with small schools scattered further up the strath. For those inland of Brora and Helmsdale basic education was not always available. For a small minority, distances made school well-nigh impossible to attend at

any time. For others, distance made school impossible in snow or other bad weather, especially as poverty meant lack of shoes. Emigration records give some indication of levels of literacy prior to 1872. Mary and Jane Robertson, shepherd's daughters from Kildonan, for example, were 17 and 14 when they emigrated to Australia in 1838. They both stated that they could read and write¹⁷⁰. Rebecca MacKay, on the same boat, was aged 30 and travelling with her 11 year old daughter Hughina. Rebecca could read but not write. Jean Polson, a crofter's daughter, born in 1843 stated, when she emigrated to Australia in 1860, that she could read, but could not write.¹⁷¹ Her first husband, a crofter born in 1812, could write fluently in English; his daughters in Australia preserved 'father's last letter'.¹⁷² Mary MacKay, from Loth, aged 20 and travelling alone to join family already in Australia, stated that she could read and write in 1865.¹⁷³ It is possible that emigrants exaggerated their abilities, and, of course, those who emigrated tended to be the more ambitious who might have had a higher literacy rate than those left behind. Although it is not possible to accurately gauge the level of education accessible to girls in Kildonan, Loth and Clyne, schools were available for the majority, who lived in or around Brora and Helmsdale.

The situation was much better in Aberdeen. Prior to 1872, there were a variety of schools available to girls, although the prestigious Grammar School and Robert Gordon's College were both for boys only. On the outskirts of Aberdeen, Woodside Burgh School, which catered for a largely working-class population, was mixed sex. Aberdeen had fee-paying schools which catered to the middle classes. It is possible that an education there was within reach of the lower middle classes. Elizabeth Isabella Abigail Mustard, for example, was born in 1862. She was an only child, born after a decade of marriage. Her father¹⁷⁴ was a clerk. The family lived at 275 George Street, Aberdeen, which was a flat above a shop. Many of the young women who lived around them worked in the comb-making factory, but her parents sent her to McBain's school, where she excelled

¹⁷⁰ New South Wales, Assisted Immigrant Passenger lists Immigration records for the "Lady McNaughton"

¹⁷¹ She also stated that she was single, whereas in fact she was deserting a much older husband. Later she registered all eight of her children as legitimate, whereas she didn't re-marry till news reached her from Scotland of the death of her first husband. So perhaps the veracity of her statements is open to doubt.

¹⁷² Original copy in the possession of the Russell family; photocopy given to the author.

¹⁷³ New South Wales, Assisted Immigrant passenger lists, Immigration records for the "General Caulfield"

¹⁷⁴ Andrew Munro, railway gatekeeper in 1851 census. Ref 1851 261 / 00 002 00 001.

academically. Her later memoirs include accounts of dancing lessons and being taken to parties by the family's maid, but there is clearly no domestic servant in the census returns. George Street was not an affluent area, but its proximity to both the Church of Scotland and the Free Church of Scotland teacher training colleges meant that a number of trainee teachers boarded nearby; indeed in 1881 William Stewart, later headmaster of Porthill Public Elementary School,¹⁷⁵ was lodging with another family in the same building. Aberdeen had a hotch-potch of schools for working class children. These included church-run sessional schools,¹⁷⁶ charity schools,¹⁷⁷ schools run by the Town Council¹⁷⁸ and privately run schools. Some schools were single sex; others were divided into two departments, one for boys and one for girls. Schools for younger children were often mixed sex. Schools varied in size from small ones run from home for fewer than a dozen children to large schools for several hundred pupils. All children in Aberdeen had access to a school and most attended school even before it became compulsory, although for some, school days were irregular and short-lived.

In Dundee a Ragged School was set up for the very poor in the 1840s, but the children who attended it were obliged to attend church with the schoolmaster or schoolmistress on Sunday. This outraged a local priest, Dr Keenan, who stated that he would prefer Roman Catholic children 'spotless and with unshaken faith' to 'perish to this world, rather than live in an abundance purchased by corruption, and perish eternally.'¹⁷⁹ The creation of separate educational provision for Roman Catholics children, which was poorly funded, resulted in inferior quality education for a group which was already poor and marginalised. The jute barons supported an Industrial Schools Society, which helped promote education among the children of the poorer working classes.¹⁸⁰ There were factory schools attached to some of the mills, which

¹⁷⁵ Hector, Thomas "Educational Progress; the Work of the School Board in Twenty-five years" in *Bon Accord* 1907, Aberdeen, 1907, p. 75.

¹⁷⁶ E.g. East Parish Sessional School, St Paul Street School, John Knox's School, Gerrard Street School.

¹⁷⁷ E.g. Davidson's School, Footdee, Lady Rothiermay's School, Littlejohn Street, and Chalmers' School.

¹⁷⁸ E.g. Dr Bell's School, Frederick Street.

¹⁷⁹ Walker, W.M. *Juteopolis; Dundee and its textile workers 1885-1923*, Scottish Academic Press Ltd, 1979, p. 119.

¹⁸⁰ Miskell, Louise, Whatley, Christopher A. and Harris, Bob, (eds) *Victorian Dundee: Image and Realities*, Tuckwell Press, 2000.

taught reading, but not writing. There were also church-run Sessional schools, provided by both the Church of Scotland and the Free Church. The first Sessional School in Dundee opened in 1832, with others following soon after. By 1842, 1,629 children were being educated in eight Sessional Schools.¹⁸¹ The largest Sessional School in Dundee had 600 pupils in 1850, but had only one teacher, assisted by several pupil teachers. These pupils were described as attaining 'above the average state of progress' and the school itself was in 'better than average condition as to discipline.'¹⁸² It is, however, hard to imagine any excellent results from such a low teacher - pupil ratio. There were a plethora of private and subscription schools, 65 in 1842, with a total of 3,688 pupils.¹⁸³ These schools were of varying quality. The number of school places prior to 1872, however, fell far short of the number of children in Dundee. It would appear, therefore, that there were difficulties in accessing education prior to 1872; there were too few places for the number of children; many of the places which did exist were for children working part-time in the mills, which provided only a very basic education for the next generation of mill-workers, and Roman Catholic girls were discouraged by their church from accessing non-Catholic education.

One feature of elementary education in Dundee was 'half-time' education. Theoretically this existed all over Scotland, but in practice it was almost totally confined to Dundee. The Factory Act 1833 stipulated that any children employed under the age of thirteen had to attend school for at least two hours daily, and factory owners provided schools to comply with this. The Factory Act of 1844 increased this to three and a half hours a day, which had to be completed before 6pm, to prevent evening classes at which the children were too tired to learn.¹⁸⁴ In 1867, only 1% of factory employees were half-timers, compared to 9% in England.¹⁸⁵ Of these 1% the majority were found in a few towns, with Dundee the most notable. The problems associated with half-time education will be examined later in this chapter. The 1871 census indicated that school attendance

¹⁸¹ Anderson, R.D. *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918*, Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 91.

¹⁸² *Report of the Committee of Council on Education, 1850-5*, p.846, quoted in Marjorie Cruickshank, *A History of the Training of Teachers in Scotland*, University of London Press Ltd., 1970. p. 60.

¹⁸³ Anderson, R.D. *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918*, Clarendon Press, 1995

¹⁸⁴ Anderson, R.D. *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918*, Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 84.

¹⁸⁵ Anderson, R.D. *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918*, Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 85.

in Dundee, based on the number of children described as being ‘scholars’ was lower amongst girls than boys at all ages.

*Table 2.1 – school attendance by age in Dundee in 1871*¹⁸⁶

Age	Girls	Boys
5	62%	66%
6	77%	80%
7	82%	84%
8	83%	88%
9	83%	86%
10	75%	85%

These figures compared unfavorably with Aberdeen, Edinburgh and Govan.¹⁸⁷ Moreover, a later educational census suggests the 1871 census may have over-stated the number of children actually attending school in Dundee.

Prior to 1872, education throughout Scotland was heavily influenced by local benefactors. Hundreds, possibly thousands, of people shaped local educational provision by bequests, mortifications and charitable donations. A benefactor could create a local centre of excellence, as in the case of Alexander Milne’s gift of the Milne Institute in Fochabers, or could improve the pay and conditions of teachers, as in the case of James Dick’s bequest to the counties of Elgin, Banff and Aberdeen, or could pay for the education of various categories of individuals, as in the case of Mr. Webster in Dundee. Nowhere, however, was more affected by a single bequest than Edinburgh, where the money left in the will of George Heriot in 1624 to provide for ‘puir faitherless bairns’ of deceased Edinburgh burgesses, not only provided the magnificent school which retains his name, but in 1837 also provided ten elementary schools, catering for Edinburgh’s poor. Further free elementaries were added later. Although Heriot’s Hospital, as the original school was then called, was for boys only, the free elementaries were for both sexes. Edinburgh School Board was later to argue that these schools did not provide free education for the very poorest, but rather for the respectable working classes and lower middle classes anxious to secure an education for their children. Edinburgh also had the

¹⁸⁶ Anderson, R.D. *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918*, Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 135.

¹⁸⁷ *ibid.*

schools attached to the Normal Colleges which provided a 'model' education. With the addition of private schools of varying quality and cost, prior to 1872, Edinburgh had enough school places to accommodate most children.

As Govan grew from a small village, the pre-1872 situation was one of a population growing more rapidly than provision of education. However, at the outset of the expansion, Govan was well provided with schools, although the Rev. Leishman, in his report in the Second Statistical Account stated that 'Many children in this parish receive their education from its very commencement in the schools in Glasgow' although within the village of Govan the Parish school was housed in an 'excellent' school-house.¹⁸⁸ Abraham Hill's Trust provided for ten poor children and the Macfarlane School, within the parish of Govan, but administered by the congregation of Gorbals church educated sixty girls free of charge.¹⁸⁹ Other schools were scattered throughout the villages in the parish.

Prior to the Education (Scotland) Act 1872, elementary education was obtainable by working-class and lower middle class girls in Aberdeen, Edinburgh and Govan, although the rapidly expanding population put pressure on the availability of places in Govan. In east Sutherland, elementary education was accessible to the majority of girls, but not the minority who lived in remote parts of the three parishes. In Dundee education was accessible to many girls, but for girls working in the mills, or Roman Catholic girls, this education was likely to be of poor quality.

The 1872 Education (Scotland) Act made education compulsory between the ages of 5 and 13. Although every part of Scotland was covered by the same legislation, there was considerable variation in the way the Act was implemented in different areas. For example, realistically, education could not be compulsory until there were enough schools to provide a place for every child. This was not a problem in, for example, Edinburgh, already well supplied with schools prior to 1872, but in Glasgow the de facto

¹⁸⁸ <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1834-45/Lanark/Govan/6/715/> last accessed 11 Sept. 2013.

¹⁸⁹ <http://stat-acc-scot.edina.ac.uk/link/1834-45/Lanark/Govan/6/716/> last accessed 11 September 2013.

age for starting school was regarded as 6, to decrease the number of children to be accommodated. In Aberdeen it took three years to create enough places for each child and in Dundee, the lack of available school places meant that education was not truly compulsory until the 1880s, once the School Board had built several schools. Although previous legislation had provided a school in every parish, Clyne and Kildonan were textbook examples of a long, narrow parish with the parish school at one end and inaccessible to children living twelve miles away at the other end. The 1872 Act could not alter such geographic difficulties. It would be an interesting study to map the date on which education became realistically compulsory throughout the different cities, towns and villages of Scotland, but one which is outwith the scope of this thesis. The Education (Scotland) Act 1872, therefore, can be seen as the start of a process to make education between the ages of 5 and 13 compulsory, rather than as the point from which education was compulsory.

The School Boards

The School Boards in each of the five areas had their own distinctive identities. Although women could be elected onto the School Board, initially only Edinburgh had a woman member. A meeting was held in Edinburgh in advance of the first election in favour of the election of women ‘in view of the large number of girls in the schools in the cities and suburbs’¹⁹⁰ Mrs Duncan McLaren opined that six ladies ought to be appointed, but Professor Masson, who chaired the meeting stated that ‘one, and possibly two ultimately was all that was aimed at present.’¹⁹¹ Two women, Phoebe Blythe and Flora Stevenson,¹⁹² stood, and were elected in second and third places respectively.¹⁹³ Flora Stevenson was re-elected to every succeeding School Board, eventually, in 1900, becoming the first woman in Scotland, and the second in Great Britain, to chair a School Board. Theoretically, the presence of women on the School Board should have improved

¹⁹⁰ *Dundee Courier and Argus*, 12 Feb 1873

¹⁹¹ *Dundee Courier and Argus*, 12 Feb 1873.

¹⁹² See e.g. Helen Corr, ‘Stevenson, Flora Clift (1839–1905)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/46826>, accessed 10 Feb 2014]

¹⁹³ *Glasgow Herald*, 1 April 1873.

education for girls in Edinburgh, as they had been elected with a specific remit. The women on Edinburgh School Board, including Flora Stevenson,¹⁹⁴ Phoebe Blyth,¹⁹⁵ Mrs Agnes Bain,¹⁹⁶ Christina Rainy¹⁹⁷ and Mary Burton were all well-connected affluent women.

Govan was the second of the areas under consideration to elect women. Miss Helen Ferguson and Mrs Dinah Pearce were both elected in 1885. Pearce was the wife of a local ship-builder and M.P.¹⁹⁸ Both resigned before the end of their term. Mrs Watt and Miss Hamilton were elected in 1888. In 1891, Professor Caird backed the election of Mrs Ferguson and Miss Jane Findlay, explaining that, as the *Glasgow Herald* reported;

if the education of boys and girls were the same, it would be at least fair that both sexes should express their views on the subject, and be able to make them influential through the School Board. But the education was of necessity different, and there were consequently different departments – sewing, cooking and domestic economy – which were mysterious to most men ... These departments, he need not say, were of the greatest importance. For every other profession or trade an elaborate training was provided except for that which everyone believed could be learned by nature – the profession of wife and mother. It was especially important to the poorer classes of society, who could not turn the management of households over to capable servants... He thought it was therefore a vital question that they should have ladies on the Board, who would be able to see that that part of the teaching was effective.¹⁹⁹

Mrs Ferguson remained on the Board until 1900 and Miss Findlay until 1903.

¹⁹⁴ Served on Edinburgh School Board 1873-1900 at least

¹⁹⁵ Served on School Board 1873-1881. Obituary – *Pall Mall Gazette* 16 Feb 1898.

¹⁹⁶ Agnes Bain was the daughter of David Carnegie of Craigo, and the widow of Rev. John Bain. She died on 6 May 1883.

¹⁹⁷ Christina Rainy was the sister of Prof. Robert Rainy, Principal of New College, Edinburgh.

¹⁹⁸ McDermid, Jane, 'Blurring the boundaries; School Board women in Scotland 1873-1919', *Women's History Review* 19 (3), 2010.

¹⁹⁹ *Glasgow Herald*, 17 April 1891.

In 1888 Dundee School Board considered co-opting a Ladies Committee to superintend the teaching of sewing, cookery and domestic economy²⁰⁰ but did not do so. It was not until 1894 that the first woman was elected. She was Jessie Gordon Shaw, a retired teacher with long and practical experience of education in Dundee, having taught in Dundee from at least 1871. She served on the Board from 1894 to 1900.²⁰¹ Shaw came from a working-class background, being a blacksmith's daughter, and stood partially on a platform of supporting the higher education of the working classes.²⁰² Two other female candidates stood in 1897, unsuccessfully, but both were elected to later Boards. Mrs Carlaw Martin, who was also formerly a teacher and was a Fellow of the E.I.S, was on the School Board from 1900 until 1907 at least. Born Isabella L. Spence in 1854, a draper's daughter from Aberdeen, she had taught in Edinburgh until her marriage to Thomas Carlaw Martin (later Sir Thomas Carlaw Martin) in 1879. Carlaw Martin championed domestic education for girls, and as such is classified by McDermid as one of the middle-class feminists who 'had little in common with the values and experiences of working class women and Board schoolmistresses.'²⁰³ As secretary to the Edinburgh Women's Liberal Association and colleague of Lady Aberdeen, Mrs Carlaw Martin certainly appeared to have left her comparatively humble roots far behind her by the time she was elected to Dundee School Board, but her early life must have given her an awareness of Board schoolmistresses' lives. She cannot be lumped together with the affluent ladies of Edinburgh School Board. Agnes Husband, dressmaker, stood for the School Board in both 1897 and 1900, as a Labour candidate, but was not elected in either, although she did subsequently become a member of the Board. Given the late date and small number of women on the Dundee School Board, their presence is unlikely to have made an impact prior to the end of the period studied in this thesis. Aberdeen was, like Dundee, late to have women on the School Board. Several women indicated their willingness to stand in 1885, but like Dundee, it wasn't until 1894 that a woman was

²⁰⁰ Dundee School Board minutes 1888-89, p. 32.

²⁰¹ McDermid, Jane, 'School Board Women and Active Citizenship in Scotland 1873-1919', *History of Education* 38 (3), 2009.

²⁰² *Dundee Courier and Argus*, 3 April 1894, p6.

²⁰³ Jane McDermid, *The Schooling of Working-Class Girls in Victorian Scotland; Gender, education and identity*, Routledge, 2005. p. 124.

elected; Mrs Isabella Fyvie Mayo.²⁰⁴ Fyvie Mayo's father was a baker, who had died bankrupt, but Fyvie Mayo herself had had a varied life and financial success as a popular author. Like Mrs Carlaw Martin in Dundee, she was part of Lady Aberdeen's circle of philanthropically minded women. Unfortunately, Fyvie Mayo's health was poor, and she resigned. There were no further women on the Board until the twentieth century, when several women, mostly former teachers from a working class background served successively. There were no female members of the School Boards of Kildonan, Loth and Clyne during the nineteenth century. McDermid points out that few of the small five-member Boards anywhere in Scotland included a woman, and so east Sutherland was unexceptional in this regard.²⁰⁵

Therefore, it can be concluded that the potential to have women on the School Boards may have done little or nothing to encourage the 'lass o' pairts.' There were few women on the Boards, none at all in east Sutherland, and in Edinburgh and Govan they were drawn from the middle classes who had little experience of working class life. In both Edinburgh and Govan, explicit reference was made to the role of female School Board members in the supervision of domestic subjects. Dundee and Aberdeen did have women who might have been described as lasses o' pairts themselves on the Boards, but not until 1894. Jessie Shaw Gordon in Dundee is possibly the only example in this study of a woman who was born into a skilled working class family, pursued a successful career as a teacher and then became a Board member after retirement. However, the fact that such a woman could attain membership of the Board does suggest an existing, though narrow, ladder of opportunity. In Aberdeen and Dundee in the early twentieth century women such as Margaret Bain, Christian Farquharson Kennedy and Agnes Husband, all born into working class families, followed Gordon's example and become Board members.

²⁰⁴ For a biography of Isabella Fyvie Mayo, see Ewan, Innes, Reynolds and Pipes (eds) *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women* EUP 2006, pp. 261-262.

²⁰⁵ McDermid, Jane, 'Blurring the boundaries; School Board women in Scotland 1873-1919', *Women's History Review* 19 (3), 2010, pp. 357-373.

Not only did the School Boards vary with regard to female members, they varied in other respects, too. The first Govan School Board included a mixture of clergymen and businessmen, with shipbuilders pre-eminent. In 1876 there was a 'gentleman's agreement' to have a non-contested election,²⁰⁶ and throughout the period Govan School Board was controlled by those with a vested interest in maintaining the status quo. Dundee School Board was heavily influenced by clergymen; they were in the majority in some Boards,²⁰⁷ and the Board was chaired by clergymen from its inception until 1906.²⁰⁸ The five-member Kildonan School Board in 1884 was heavily dominated by the church, with both the Established Church and Free Church ministers represented. The overlap between church/education was made explicit in 1885, when the minutes of one Board meeting recorded that 'Rev Mr MacRae and the Rev Mr Fraser stated that they would urge upon the parents from the pulpit to send their children to school, to save the Board the disagreeable necessity of summoning them.'²⁰⁹ This seems to have been ineffective, as the School Board minutes feature irregular attenders and defaulting parents regularly. In 1888, as part of the crofting agitation, the newly elected School Board was largely composed of those sympathetic to the crofters cause; neither minister was elected.²¹⁰ One of those elected, George Bruce,²¹¹ baker in Helmsdale, was the brother-in-law of a crofter²¹² regularly summonsed for the non-attendance of his children, and whose excuse for his children's absence was that he was 'unable to provide his children with shoes and clothing.'²¹³ Clergymen featured prominently in Aberdeen, too, although academics also played a significant role. It can be seen, therefore, that the education of children was managed by Boards which varied in composition according to local circumstances.

²⁰⁶ *Glasgow Herald*, 13 April 1876.

²⁰⁷ E.g the second Board from 1875-1879 on; 7 of the 13 members were clergy.

²⁰⁸ Anderson, R.D. *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918*, Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 168.

²⁰⁹ Kildonan School Board minutes, CS/5/3/8/1, 2 April 1885.

²¹⁰ *Aberdeen Weekly Journal*, 5 April 1888.

²¹¹ The author's great-great uncle.

²¹² The author's great great grandfather William McLeod.

²¹³ Kildonan School Board minutes, CS/5/3/8/1, 8 Oct 1888.

The Provision of Schools after 1872

The first action of each School Board was to undertake a census of the number of children aged between five and thirteen in its area. They then set about the task of providing an education for each of those children. In this section I will examine the educational system put in place by the School Boards in the terms of the 1872 Act. I will examine east Sutherland and Dundee first, as the two areas with the greatest difficulties prior to 1872, then Aberdeen and Govan, ending with Edinburgh, the area with fewest difficulties prior to 1872.

Kildonan School Board minutes survive from 1884.²¹⁴ The first surviving volume refers to an earlier minute book, whose whereabouts are unknown. In 1884 the Kildonan School Board managed three schools; Helmsdale with a roll of approximately 250, Kinbrace with a roll of approximately 30, but an average attendance of only 19, and Kildonan, also with a small roll. There are references to scattered pupils, but the minutes do not make it clear where they were educated. The overwhelming impression of the Kildonan School Board minutes is of problems and difficulties, especially in relation to the two isolated small schools, which had a rapid turnover of staff. In 1886 the HMI report on Kildonan School was 'very favourable' but the school didn't meet the requirements to qualify for a government grant. The School Board wrote an appeal to point out 'the peculiar circumstances of the district' namely that the parents wanted their children taught by a male teacher. However, that meant that an additional sewing teacher had to be employed and that it was impossible to obtain a sewing mistress. Additionally, the lack of government grant would mean that the expenses of the school would have to be borne by ratepayers. As none of the parents were ratepayers, the costs would fall entirely on others. Matters were no easier at the second small school, Kinbrace, which had a roll of thirty, but an average attendance of only 19. Miss Leitch resigned in 1884. Her replacement Miss McLennan, whose salary was only £40 p.a., plus lodgings, resigned in 1888 to be followed by Mrs Sinclair who was sacked in 1890. The next

²¹⁴ Kildonan School Board minutes CS/5/3/8/1 and CS/5/3/8/2 .

teacher was asked to resign in 1891. During this time two parents were warned not to permit their boys to interfere with the school property or the teacher at Kinbrace.²¹⁵

The Kildonan School Board appeared to be constantly at odds with many of the parents. In 1886, 226 people signed a petition in favour of the school fees being reduced to one penny per quarter.²¹⁶ It is not clear if the signatories were confined to those with school age children; if so this was a very high percentage of parents. Instead the School Board offered a cash discount for school fees paid promptly, but this was of little benefit to parents who struggled to pay anything at all. In 1890, the School Board concluded that there was some doubt as to the qualifications of the headmaster of the school at Helmsdale. This issue may have been mired in politics, as newspaper accounts and the School Board minutes bear no relation to one other. At any rate the headmaster was dismissed and was refused a reference. The School Board minutes record ‘public dissatisfaction with the manner in which the school has been and is conducted’²¹⁷ but the newspaper reported a public meeting protesting his dismissal, and a deputation, led by the Free Church minister, informing the school board that they did not intend to recognise his successor. The overall impression is that the Kildonan School Board presided over a chaotic education system.

In Clyne the Board discovered there were 303 children between the ages of 5 and 13, of whom 284 lived within the vicinity of Brora, which had three existing schools, two run by the Established Church and the Free Church respectively, plus a girls’ sewing school. There was also a school at Doll, two miles distant from Brora, which was founded by the Glasgow Auxiliary Gaelic School Society. The furthest pupils lived 12 miles from the school at Doll, and the School Board saw no option other than supplying an itinerant teacher for them. The School Board proposed to amalgamate the Brora and Doll schools, making Mr Myron, the established school teacher headmaster on a salary of at least £100 p.a., with Mr Baillie, the Free School teacher, as deputy on a salary of at least £80 p.a. The School Board minutes do not explain what happened next, but clearly this plan was

²¹⁵ Kildonan School Board minutes CS/5/3/8/1, 12 Feb 1891.

²¹⁶ Kildonan School Board minutes CS/5/3/8/1, 23 Mar 1886.

²¹⁷ Kildonan School Board minutes CS/5/3/8/1, 3 Dec 1890

not acceptable. The parents at Doll claimed that their children could not be expected to walk two miles to school in winter. The School Board then proposed that the school at Doll should become an Infant school, under a female teacher, with the older children walking to school, but the Doll parents rejected this also. More complicated were the negotiations over the amalgamation of the two church schools. The difficulty may have been inter-denominational / political, though the Board minutes are silent on this. By 1876 the parents of the children attending the Free Church school were refusing to send their children to be educated by Mr Myron, making allegations initially of drunkenness, then of cursing and latterly that he was carrying on an adulterous relationship with 'the woman MacKay'. The School Board referred the whole matter to the Sherriff at Dornoch, who found the allegations wholly unfounded;

The ordeal through which the respondent has had to pass has been most trying, but he has come successfully through it, and the Sherriff-substitute now ventures to hope that the future relations between the School Board and the respondent, nothing will arise to show that the latter's usefulness as a teacher has been in any way impaired by what has taken place under the present proceedings.²¹⁸

By this time the roll at the Public school (which could hold 250 pupils) had dropped to just twenty, with parents making their own arrangements with the Free Church pupil teachers, and with Miss Sutherland's girls' school. The average attendance during the first two years the school was opened was just 34. Mr Baillie, the Free Church teacher, was officially ill during this time, suffering from 'severe attacks of bronchitis, aggravated by constitutional weakness and undeserved annoyance.'²¹⁹ In 1896 a newspaper article on his shell collection mentioned his love of cricket and golf, which casts doubt on his 'constitutional weakness.'²²⁰ It is difficult to see how any pupils could thrive educationally during this period, and it is possible that girls would fare less well, if they were attending the girls sewing school rather than the Public school. In 1879 a new School Board was elected, significantly free of church ministers. Instead the members

²¹⁸ Aberdeen Weekly Journal, 22 Nov 1876

²¹⁹ Clyne School Board minutes GB/NNAF/C1855, 17 April 1877.

²²⁰ Aberdeen Weekly Journal, 27 Aug 1896.

comprised a farmer, two tailors, a cartwright, and an estate factor. The political situation meant that the focus of the School Boards was often on political issues, rather than education, to the detriment of all pupils.

One further complicating factor was the use of Gaelic. In 1876 the Clyne School Board minutes note ‘English is the prevailing language in this parish...the Board...are of the opinion that the teaching of Gaelic is not required in any of the schools under their jurisdiction.’²²¹ Sixteen months later, M.P. Fraser McIntosh was presenting a petition to Parliament from various School Boards, including Clyne, that ‘Gaelic be taught in Highland schools.’²²² The composition of the School Board had not changed in the intervening period, and there’s no mention in the Minutes of Fraser-McIntosh’s petition. It is difficult to know why the School Board should apparently hold two different positions simultaneously.

In conclusion, east Sutherland was an area experiencing severe poverty and political upheaval. The Duke of Sutherland owned the whole area and took a keen interest in School Board matters. Hence the crofters, who were to form the Highland Land League in the 1880s, associated the School Board with their political opponents. In both Clyne and Kildonan, parents objected to the head teacher of the principal schools and refused to send their children. Although they made an effort to provide an education for their children, those children who were kept away from School Board schools were being educated by teenage pupil teachers. Add the difficulty of geographical distance, and poor roads and it is not difficult to see why basic elementary education was wanting. Some few men did go on to have successful careers, but it is noticeable that these tended to have risen through political involvement; Angus Sutherland, M.P. was a crofter’s son, and Joseph MacLeod, was a shoemaker’s son from Kildonan.²²³ This was not an option open to women. The political situation meant that education declined after 1872. It would be interesting to know if this was also true of other parts of the Highlands.

²²¹ Clyne School Board minutes GB/NNAF/C1855, 19 Oct 1876

²²² Aberdeen Weekly Journal, 19 Feb 1878

²²³ See Ewen A. Cameron, ‘Sutherland, Angus (1848–1922)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/58136>, accessed 5 July 2013]; Joseph MacLeod MBE.

James Logie, one of the candidates in the 1879 Dundee School Board election, described the experiences of the first two Dundee School Boards. He pointed out that the first School Board had been obliged to carry out an educational census which had revealed that there was 'fairly good' school accommodation for all those who were attending school, but that there was no accommodation available for the 4560 children of school age who were not attending school. Notwithstanding the compulsory clause in the Education (Scotland) Act 1872, Dundee School Board saw no reason to erect schools to provide enough places for every child, assuming that even statutory compulsion would not prevail upon every family. They resolved to build five new schools, Ancrum Road, Dudhope, Hill Street, Clepington, and Glebe Lands to accommodate 3000 children. However, the closure of two Voluntary Schools created a need for a further 800 places and so the School Board built two further schools, Hawkhill and Victoria Road. At the same time the School Board took over and enlarged four schools; Brown Street, Balfour Street (a former Sessional school), Wallacetown and Butterburn.²²⁴ The first two School Boards found themselves in conflict with two groups; Dundee ratepayers who regarded the expenditure on new schools as excessive, and the Department of Education who felt that Dundee should be spending more to create enough places for every child, in accordance with the legislation. In 1877 Rev Dr Grant of Dundee School Board claimed that there were 'thousands of children not receiving a proper education at present.'²²⁵ In 1878 the School Board reported that there were 3,224 children between the ages of 5 and 13 not accounted for on school rolls; of these, up to 1,260 were 'persistent absentees, ...well known to the Board.'²²⁶ Although the figures for non-attendance were monitored I have not (yet) found any separate figures for boys and girls. However, as the 1871 census indicated poorer attendance amongst girls, it is likely that there were more girls than boys amongst the 3,224 children absent from school rolls. Non attendance at school, of course, meant that many girls never reached the ladder of educational opportunity, let alone start to climb it. Of those attending school, many remained at schools attached to the mills; in 1880, eight years after the Education (Scotland) Act Dundee had more non-

²²⁴ *The Dundee Courier & Argus and Northern Warder*, 1 April 1879

²²⁵ *The Dundee Courier & Argus and Northern Warder*, 4 December 1877

²²⁶ *The Dundee Courier & Argus and Northern Warder*, 2 April 1878

public schools than any other town in Scotland²²⁷ In 1881/82 there were 15 School Board schools and 46 non-Board schools.²²⁸

Under the Factory and Workshop Acts 1878 and 1891 special extract birth certificates were provided free to those wishing to start work underage. A collection of such certificates, printed on stiff blue paper, is preserved in Dundee University Archives. Some of those so applying had clearly been born into extremely difficult circumstances; Margaret Miller, born in 1886, Rose Ann Sutherland, born in 1887, Hannah Moore, born in 1890, were all illegitimate daughters of illiterate jute spinners or jute winders. All three were starting work in jute mills at the earliest opportunity. Others were legitimate, but their fathers were unable to sign their birth certificates; Rose Dailly, born 1889 and Margaret McCartney, born 1891, both part of the Irish community, were examples. In 1892, Hugh Munro, Assistant Inspector of Schools for Dundee and district commented that his opinion

was that the parental ideal of children's schools and education in Dundee was perhaps at the lowest level of almost any place in Scotland...In Dundee their little Jocks and Janeties were sent to work in mills on the half time system, and were often little stunted, half-starved creatures.²²⁹

Dundee School Board tried to be innovative. To attract children to school it introduced school dinners; in 1887 it gave 8,466 free, 23,993 at a halfpenny each, and a few at a penny.²³⁰ Truancy was endemic and the School Board concluded that some families literally could not afford to have their children attend school. The costs of these free meals, of course, reduced the amount available to be spent on other educational costs.

One of the few areas in which Dundee was above the national average was in school attendance at age 5. As previously stated, in 1871, 66% of boys, and 62% of girls,

²²⁷ Anderson, R.D. *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918*, Clarendon Press, 1995.

²²⁸ Dundee School Board minutes 1882.

²²⁹ *Educational News* 1892.

²³⁰ Scotland, James, *The History of Scottish Education*, Vol 2, University of London Press Ltd, 1969, p. 89.

were described as ‘scholars’ in the census; a higher percentage than Glasgow or Edinburgh, though lower than in Aberdeen.²³¹ Although the 1872 Act made education compulsory from the age of five, in many parts of Scotland (East Sutherland is one example) it was common for school entry to start at the age of six. Anderson states that ‘compulsory attendance at 5 was out of line with Scottish habits.’²³² In Dundee, however, there was a demand from parents for children to be admitted at age four; presumably to enable mothers to work. In 1890, the School Board ruled that no child under the age of four was to be admitted to a Board School; it subsequently clarified that it was in favour of children being admitted from the age of four.²³³

However, for those girls from the skilled working class or lower middle class, whose parents did not need them to earn money at an early age, the situation in Dundee steadily improved from 1872 on. The new Board schools provided a good education, although the proportion of untrained teachers was higher than in Aberdeen. At Board schools such as Ancrum Road, girls could access not merely a basic education but extra subjects such as French. In 1880, the top four pupils from Board Schools in Dundee all came from Ancrum School; the top three were female. Maggie Band, a builder’s daughter, Susannah Macdonald, an ironmonger’s daughter, and Elizabeth George, whose mother was a widow, all scored highly in exams, with Band and Macdonald gaining high marks in Latin as well as French, and George gaining 100% in arithmetic. Latin was not common; only four Board schools in Dundee in 1880 offered it.²³⁴ Three years earlier, a Board of Education report stated that there were 8,764 boys and 1,666 girls studying Latin as a Specific subject at a public elementary school in Scotland. The 1880 list of top pupils in Dundee suggests that few pupils took Latin, but of those that did, the proportion of girls and boys was almost equal. However the numbers in Dundee for the single year of 1880 are too small to rule out the possibility that this was an unusual year. Nationally,

²³¹ Anderson, R.D. *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918*, Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 135.

²³² Anderson, R.D. *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918*, Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 230.

²³³ Dundee School Board minutes April 1890-March 1891, p. 433; Dundee School Board minutes April 1891-March 1892, p. 314.

²³⁴ Ancrum Road, Dudhope, Glebelands and Hill Street. Dundee School Board minutes April 1879-March 1882, p. 202.

3,990 boys, but only 336 girls took Mathematics;²³⁵ in Dundee, only boys were presented in Mathematics in 1880. If the lass o'pairs existed in Dundee, it is likely that she attended one of the School Board schools, such as Ancrum Road, which served that part of the working class which was not employed in the jute mills.

Dundee School Board also had two fee-paying schools; Harris Academy and Morgan Academy. Both were academically excellent, although their fee structure put them out of the reach of the working classes. Dundee High School remained independent of the School Board. Its fees put it outwith the reach of the working classes, although some of its affluent female pupils went on to have notable careers. Agnes Forbes Blackadder,²³⁶ whose father was an architect and civil engineer, went on to become a surgeon. Hilda Lockhart Lorimer, daughter of the Rev. Robert Lorimer, Free Church minister, became a classical scholar and a tutor at Somerville College, Oxford.²³⁷ Ruth Young, a flax merchant's daughter, graduated MB ChB in 1907, and went on to have a distinguished career as a surgeon.²³⁸

In conclusion, elementary education was available in Dundee, but even after the Education (Scotland) Act 1872 made education compulsory, there were physically not enough school places to enable every child to access education. This basic lack of provision continued into the 1880s, despite the Dundee School Board pursuing an energetic school building programme. The School Board had a difficult task, facing a lack of public goodwill on one hand, and statutory requirements on the other. However, even had the School Board been able to provide places for every child, the belief that many children wouldn't attend regardless appears to have been well-founded with endemic rates of truancy and non-attendance and, in many cases, no parental support for children's education. The half-time system eroded educational attainment for many; in Scotland this was a problem almost unique to Dundee. Despite this, new schools were

²³⁵ Anderson, R.D. *Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland*, Clarendon Press, 1983, pp. 117-118.

²³⁶ Agnes Forbes Blackadder 1875-1964. The family had two servants in the 1881 census.

²³⁷ Helen Waterhouse, 'Lorimer, (Elizabeth) Hilda Lockhart (1873-1954)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/48498>, last accessed 2 September 2013]

²³⁸ Ruth Young 1884-1983.

being built, the majority of children did attend and some were able to continue their education beyond the statutory leaving age. The girls who benefitted from this came from the non-jute industry working classes and lower middle classes; the same section of society as in Aberdeen. However, this social group was proportionally smaller in Dundee than Aberdeen, due to the extent of the jute industry.

Aberdeen School Board commenced a programme of taking over schools, improving some whilst closing others, and building a series of imposing large granite Public Elementary Schools. The first eight schools to be taken over were all formerly church run Sessional schools, whose churches appeared very willing to hand over responsibility. These were in poor areas of Aberdeen. Notable amongst these was the East Parish Sessional School, situated off the slum area of the Gallowgate. It was renamed St Paul Street School, and was repeatedly extended, finally being rebuilt in 1897, to include a school bath, in recognition of the fact that many of its pupils did not have access to a bath at home.²³⁹ The Act changed the whole structure of elementary education in Aberdeen, with huge new schools such as Woodside School (below) and King Street School, with rolls of 1,000 and 1,500 pupils respectively replacing myriad smaller older ones and the implementation of uniformity of curriculum and testing.



Woodside School, Aberdeen

²³⁹ Hector, Thomas "Educational Progress; the Work of the School Board in Twenty-five years" in *Bon Accord* 1907, Aberdeen 1907, p. 75

At the outset of the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act, Edinburgh, like both Aberdeen and Dundee, had a mixture of denominational, and charitable schools, but Edinburgh also had the Normal Schools, and the Heriot schools. As with other Boards, the Edinburgh Board started by carrying out a census to determine the number of children in the city. Several of the enumerators were women.²⁴⁰ The chairman of Edinburgh School Board later claimed that, at the passing of the Education Act ‘the Merchant Company schools, the Normal and Denominational Schools, and the Heriot schools provided sufficient accommodation for Edinburgh such as it was.’²⁴¹ As a result, the focus of Edinburgh School Board’s endeavours was to improve the standard of existing schools, and to take over existing schools, close them down and replace them with better quality newly built schools. They also had to bring poor and neglected children into education. From the outset, Edinburgh School Board decided that all new Board schools should be mixed-sex, this being the traditional state of parish schools.²⁴² Edinburgh School Board acted quickly. In October 1875, it was administering 18 day schools, with 6,621 pupils, plus nine evening schools, five for men and four for women, with 250 pupils.²⁴³ However, all these schools were former denominational schools, which the School Board intended to replace with larger, better quality schools. The first purpose built School Board School was opened in December 1875, at which point a further seven were under construction.²⁴⁴ By the end of 1876 it administered seventeen Board schools, plus seven Evening schools, of which five were for young men and two for young women. At the same time, those schools funded from George Heriot’s Trust remained outwith Board control.

²⁴⁰ *Dundee Courier and Argus*, 6 November 1873.

²⁴¹ *Glasgow Herald*, 22 Dec 1880.

²⁴² *Glasgow Herald*, 4 April 1874.

²⁴³ *Isle of Man Times and General Advertiser*, 9 Oct 1875.

²⁴⁴ *Glasgow Herald*, 9 Dec 1875.

*Table 3.1 - Number of students in Edinburgh School Board Schools, compiled from School Board Records.*²⁴⁵

<i>Date</i>	<i>Number of schools</i>	<i>Number enrolled</i>	<i>Average attendance</i>
1875	18	6,621	–
1876	17	–	–
1881	14	13,096	10, 430.
1882	14	–	9,505
1883	16	12, 212	–
1884	16	14,548	–
1885	16	15, 504	12, 461
1888	23	18, 651	-
1889	26	19, 476	-
1900	31	–	28, 314

Edinburgh School Board produced a lot of statistics. Some of these were designed to prove that Edinburgh was educationally superior to Glasgow, whilst Glasgow School Board produced statistics designed to prove the opposite. These statistics are useful, because they illustrate the different ethos of the two school Boards. They help prove how differently it was possible to interpret legislation in different areas of Scotland, and also how differently two School Boards, both serving large cities, experienced their circumstances. Edinburgh argued that, while they administered fewer schools than Glasgow, the schools they did administer catered to the very poorest, a class of children unreached in Glasgow. In 1880, they pointed out that of 520 children relieved by the Committee on Destitute Children 276 came to Board schools, and suggested that the destitute remained outwith education in Glasgow.²⁴⁶ Edinburgh School Board further claimed that in 1880, there were only 517 children not at school, compared to at least 11,361 in Glasgow.²⁴⁷ Glasgow School Board, however, disputed these numbers, pointing out that many of the children ‘absent’ in Glasgow were aged five; in Edinburgh,

²⁴⁵ *Edinburgh School Board minutes 1875-1900 SL28/2/1-23*

²⁴⁶ *Glasgow Herald*, 14 Dec 1880.

²⁴⁷ *Glasgow Herald*, 14 Dec 1880.

the starting age of five was enforced; in Glasgow, children generally started at six. As a result, in 1881, Edinburgh pointed out that there were less infants in the 42 Glasgow Board schools than in 14 Edinburgh Board schools. Rev Dr Scott, chair of the Board, said that this showed that ‘in Edinburgh they really were grappling with the necessities of the situation, and were trying to give the benefits of the Education Act to the classes in whose special interest the Act was passed.’²⁴⁸ By 1883, Edinburgh School Board had an over-capacity of school places.



*Leith Walk School, one of the first schools built under Edinburgh School Board, opened in 1876.*²⁴⁹

Having achieved a surplus of places, Edinburgh School Board was able to focus on steadily increasing the quality of education on offer. Moreover, they were able to do this on a lower rate than many other Boards, though, in common with other Boards, the rate climbed steadily upwards. In 1882, they started to provide free textbooks. One interesting objection to this development was that there were allegedly many widows with young children selling school books to support their families ‘confidently anticipating that their slender means of support would never be interfered with.’²⁵⁰

²⁴⁸ *Glasgow Herald*, 15 Nov 1881

²⁴⁹ ©Edinburgh City Libraries. Licensors www.scran.ac.uk.

²⁵⁰ *Dundee Courier & Argos*, 8 Jan 1883.

However, actual instances of such widows proved hard to find, and the School Board pressed ahead with the supply of schoolbooks. In 1885, Edinburgh School Board took over the Heriot Schools, although the Heriot fund continued to provide bursaries; in 1900, for example, there were 333 Heriot bursaries, of which 269 went to pupils in Board schools.²⁵¹

Girls in Edinburgh were ideally placed to gain an elementary education. Prior to 1885, several thousand children enjoyed a free education at one of the Heriot elementary schools, whilst after 1872, the fees at the Board schools were modest, and, in the case of destitute children, were met by the Committee for Destitute children. In 1876 Flora Stevenson, addressing a meeting on the higher education of women stated that ‘girls could now get in elementary schools for 2d a week, as good an education as they could obtain in the so-called ladies seminaries, the reason being that the teachers themselves had been educated for their special work.’²⁵²

Govan School Board’s initial focus was on acquiring schools and choosing sites for new schools. At the start of 1874 they had six schools, with 2087 pupils on the roll and a regular attendance of 1618.²⁵³ Three months later, they had nine schools (one of which, Kinning Park, was temporary) with 4337 on the register and an average attendance of 3659.²⁵⁴ In the parish as a whole, there were 51 schools, many very small, with 9428 children registered and an average attendance of 7833.²⁵⁵ A year later, the Board noted that the number of children in education had increased and that they hoped that the increase was in proportion to the rapid growth of the population. In other words, they were concerned that the number of children in Govan might be increasing faster than provision could be made for their education. A survey had found that there were 53 schools, of which only 9 were Board schools (albeit these were the largest schools). A further 11 schools were government-inspected elementary schools and six were ‘inefficient’ elementary adventure schools. There were 27 schools catering to the more

²⁵¹ *Glasgow Herald*, 30 April 1900.

²⁵² *Aberdeen Weekly Journal*, 20 Sept 1876., p. 8.

²⁵³ Govan School Board minutes, D-ED1/4/1/1, 12 Jan 1874, p. 72.

²⁵⁴ Govan School Board minutes, D-ED1/4/1/1. 13 April 1874, p. 101.

²⁵⁵ Govan School Board minutes, D-ED1/4/1/1, 11 May 1874, p. 110.

affluent middle classes, of which 17 were conducted by ladies and 10 by gentlemen.²⁵⁶ Almost half (4808) of the 10,349 children attending school, were at a Board school, with 2861 at an inspected school and 2155 at a higher class school. This left only 525 children attending a school deemed inefficient, plus those children who attended no school at all. The School Board noted that only 637 children over the age of thirteen were at school, most of whom were at one of the higher class schools, rather than at an elementary school.²⁵⁷ Govan School Board introduced a tiered level of fees, which ranged from 2s 6d per quarter for ‘alphabet, reading, object lessons and oral arithmetic’ to 3s per quarter for ‘reading, writing on slates, spelling and arithmetic’ with an increase of 6d per quarter if the pupil wrote on copy paper rather than slates. This suggests that for poor families, there was a positive disincentive to educational progress. At the top end of the school, fees were as high as 7s 6d per quarter.²⁵⁸ The fourth child in a family was educated for free,²⁵⁹ although this would have equated to less than a 25% reduction, as the youngest child’s fees would have been the lowest.

Half-timers.

The half-time system survived the Education (Scotland) Act 1872. Children who worked half-time either worked for ten hours a day on alternate days, attending school on non-working days, or worked from 5am -11am and then attended school in the afternoons. Either way, the children were too tired to learn effectively. In 1878, the Scotch Education Department ruled that children could only begin half-time work at age ten, and then only if they had passed Standard III.²⁶⁰ In 1883, there were at least 4,500 half-timers in Dundee. The jute employers of Dundee and neighbouring towns said that two-thirds of their half-timers would have to be dismissed if the rule on passing Standard III was enforced.²⁶¹ As most of the jute industries half-timers were girls, this meant that there was a large body of girls within Dundee who had little education, and no prospect

²⁵⁶ Govan School Board minutes, D-ED1/4/1/2, 10 May 1875, p. 38.

²⁵⁷ Govan School Board minutes, D-ED1/4/1/2, 10 May 1875, p. 40.

²⁵⁸ Govan School Board minutes D-ED 1/4/1/1, 8 June 1874, p. 124.

²⁵⁹ Govan School Board minutes D-ED 1/4/1/1, 8 June 1874.

²⁶⁰ Anderson, R.D. *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918*, Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 231.

²⁶¹ Anderson, R.D. *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918*. Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 231.

of improvement. As late as 1886 there were still seven half-time schools in Dundee, of which five were attached to mills and the other two were provided by the School Board.²⁶² The system clearly had drawbacks, not least that the children who had to combine paid employment with school were often tired and unmotivated. Absenteeism was higher amongst half-timers than children attending school full time, and teachers found it harder to maintain discipline amongst children who were earning a wage and contributing to the family income. The lure of paid employment also encouraged some girls' parents to lie about their daughters' age to access jobs; 'Work for young persons in mills and factories being so plentiful, poor people are strongly tempted to risk sending their children to work with borrowed birth certificates.'²⁶³ This practice was 'mostly confined to girls, boys of this class taking more to truancy and idleness.'²⁶⁴ Some children also worked casually; the School Board frequently discussed the issue of children selling newspapers until late at night.²⁶⁵ In 1889, one 8 year old boy was found selling matches on the street at 1am.²⁶⁶ All the instances of street-selling cited involved boys. However, the numbers of half-timers gradually declined; by 1902 there were 2,033 in Dundee.²⁶⁷

As there was little industry and no mills, other than a small woollen mill in Brora, half-time pupils were not an issue in Kildonan, Loth or Clyne. In Aberdeen the half-time system was in slow decline, not completely eradicated until the twentieth century. Head teachers in the east end complained of the difficulties caused by half-timers in the immediate aftermath of the 1872 Act,²⁶⁸ but as numbers declined, the issue became less pressing. Govan School Board noted in 1877 that there was no special provision in their schools for half-timers,²⁶⁹ who presumably attended one of the non-Board schools. They

²⁶² Anderson, R.D. *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918*, Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 227.

²⁶³ Dundee School Board minutes 1890-1891, p. 105.

²⁶⁴ Dundee School Board minutes 1888-1889, p. 97.

²⁶⁵ E.g. Dundee School Board minutes 1888, pp. 201, 253, 258, 270, 280.

²⁶⁶ Dundee School Board minutes 11 Feb 1889.

²⁶⁷ Anderson, R.D. *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918*, Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 231.

²⁶⁸ McDermid, Jane, *The Schooling of Working-Class Girls in Victorian Scotland: Gender, education and identity* Routledge, 2005, p. 80.

²⁶⁹ Govan School Board minutes, D-ED1/4/1/2, 12 Feb 1877, p. 277.

resolved to accommodate half-timers at Govan Cross Public School,²⁷⁰ but the minutes make no mention of the number of children affected.

Truancy

One further factor pertinent to girls' access to elementary education is the attitude to those who did not attend. Was it possible for girls to simply miss out on school? What was the attitude towards truancy? This may give an insight into the attitude towards girls' education. Obviously, truancy was not an issue prior to 1872,²⁷¹ as parents could choose whether or not to send their children to school, but education in Scotland was made compulsory for all children from the ages of 5-13 by section 70 of the Education (Scotland) Act 1872. Although fees were charged, poor parents could apply to the Poor Law authority for payment. Children could be exempted from school once they had attained sufficient knowledge of reading, writing and arithmetic (the three 'Rs'). This was subsequently fine-tuned by section 6 of the Education (Scotland) Act 1878, which stipulated that children could be granted exemption if they were aged at least ten and had achieved proficiency in grade five of the curriculum. Similar legislation was included in the Education Act 1870 covering England, but the ethos of the legislation differed; in England truants could be sent to a truant school where discipline was harsh and punitive. In Scotland responsibility rested on the parents who, if their child truanted, would be sent a warning letter, then appear before the Board, then face prosecution including fines and possible imprisonment. Although industrial schools existed in Scotland, and truanting children could be sent to an industrial school, this happened only if the investigation into the truancy revealed further problems.²⁷²

School Boards were responsible for ensuring that children attended school and they did so by employing a Truancy Officer, also known as a Compulsory Officer, or

²⁷⁰ Govan School Board minutes, D-ED1/4/1/2, 12 Feb 1877, p. 287.

²⁷¹ Attendance at Industrial and Ragged Schools could be enforced prior to 1872, but these schools are outwith the scope of this thesis.

²⁷² The relationship between truancy and industrial schools in Scotland is described by Linda Mahmood in Mahmood, Linda *Policing gender, class and family: Britain, 1850-1940*, UCL Press, London, 1995, pp. 40-41.

Default Officer, or School Board Officer, and informally known by various names, such as the 'Tak A' in Aberdeen and the Plunky Man in Glasgow. Truancy Officers were responsible for children seen in the street during school hours, and for checking up on children reported absent by class teachers. They submitted regular reports to the School Board. This was a full time post in cities such as Edinburgh, Aberdeen and Dundee, (see photo below of Dundee's Attendance Officers in 1895) but a part-time post in smaller areas such as East Sutherland. Edinburgh's Compulsory Officer was paid £120pa in 1877.²⁷³ The number of Truancy Officers is likely to be underestimated in census returns as it was so often a secondary occupation.



*Dundee's School Board Officers.*²⁷⁴

Examples from the census returns include 'Letter-carrier and School Board Officer,' 'Crofter and School Board Officer' and 'Stone dresser and School Board Officer' which suggest that in rural areas no particular qualification was required. In Edinburgh, the

²⁷³ Edinburgh School Board minutes SL28/2/1, 26 July 1877.

²⁷⁴ ©Dundee City Council, Central Library, Photographic Collection. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

Compulsory Officer had several assistants, including women. Margaret Main was employed until 1877, when she resigned on the grounds of ill-health. She was replaced by Ann(e) McEachern.²⁷⁵ Aberdeen and Dundee do not appear to have had female officers, but Miss Sutherland, the teacher of the small school at Kinbrace, Kildonan, was paid an additional 30 shillings per annum to act as Truancy Officer. This is an example of an official role, which might have been undertaken by women, being largely invisible from the census returns. It is impossible to know how many part-time female truancy officers there might have been, as, indeed, it is difficult to identify part-time male officers from the census.

When the Education Acts were being debated, it was suggested that making education compulsory for girls would impact on families which relied on a daughter to keep house whilst both parents worked. The London School Board concluded that many children were unable to attend school because they were needed at home to care for younger children. In 1876, the *Aberdeen Journal* commented on ‘the extent to which young girls, of from five to twelve years of age, are kept at home while their parents are at work.’ It added that ‘The Association for the poor has done something in Aberdeen, by their excellent Day Nursery in East North Street for facilitating the operations of the School Board when they begin to carry the compulsory clause into effect.’²⁷⁶ McDermid argues that the response to truancy was gendered, with girls’ domestic duties being regarded as an acceptable reason for non-attendance at school. She points out;

Despite frequent complaints about the absence of girls in the higher standards, often no reason was given. Boys rather than girls were described as playing truant, implying that their absences were less productive and domestic than that of girls, and less acceptable. Whereas the absence of girls was regretted, boys were more likely to be punished, or even expelled, for truancy.²⁷⁷

²⁷⁵ Edinburgh School Board minutes, SL28/2/1, 11 April 1877, p66. In 1881, McEachern was aged 35, a School Board officer, living with her widowed mother.

²⁷⁶ *Aberdeen Journal* 5 Nov 1873, p. 8, column 3.

²⁷⁷ McDermid, Jane, *The Schooling of Working-Class Girls in Victorian Scotland: Gender, education and identity*, Routledge 2005, p. 61.

Is this true of the five areas? I attempted to compare the gender ratio of children whose parents were brought before the school board or prosecuted. Govan was the first area to tackle truancy, with a truancy officer visiting 829 families, which accounted for 1086 children not attending school, by 12 January 1874. Of those, 58 were at work.²⁷⁸ The School Board monthly minutes record a phenomenal level of visiting, initially undertaken by a single truancy officer. Parents were summoned to appear before the School Board from early 1874. For example, in October 80 parents were summonsed, in relation to 104 children. Three children could not be registered as they had no birth certificate and 22 girls were at work in a silk factory. Of these, one was aged 9, three were aged 10, eleven were 11, and seven aged 12. Eight of the silk workers had left work and started school by the time their parents appeared before the Board.²⁷⁹ As stated above, Glasgow lessened its difficulties with provision of school places by not enforcing attendance of five year olds. Govan followed this practice briefly, ignoring 321 5 year old non-attenders in 1874,²⁸⁰ but soon had enough places to enforce the 1872 Act fully. By January 1875, the first five parents appeared in the Sherriff Court, three of whom were fined 20 shillings with 20 shillings costs. The first five had been carefully selected ‘These cases resulted not so much from poverty as from gross carelessness on the part of the parents, all of them being in receipt of fair wages.’²⁸¹ To hammer home the message, the School Board had handbills printed, detailing the convictions and fines, to be put up in closes throughout the area.²⁸² By late 1876, all but 148 children were enrolled in school. The main issue faced was that of children who failed to attend. The number of truancy officers had increased, and they continued to carry out a demanding round of visits; 2,486 children were visited in one month, of whom 1092 had returned to school, and 26 were exempt, having turned 13.²⁸³

Kildonan and Loth’s initial School Board records are missing. Clyne acted quickly and appointed its first part-time Default Officer, John Melville, a post messenger

²⁷⁸ Govan School Board minutes, D-ED1/4/1/1, 12 Jan 1874, p. 72.

²⁷⁹ Govan School Board minutes, D-ED1/4/1/1, 12 October 1874, pp. 147-8.

²⁸⁰ Govan School Board minutes, D-ED1/4/1/1, 12 Oct 1874, p. 148.

²⁸¹ Govan School Board minutes, D-ED1/4/1/1, 11 Jan 1875, pp. 181-2.

²⁸² Govan School Board minutes, D-ED1/4/1/1, 11 Jan 1875, p. 183.

²⁸³ Govan School Board minutes, D-ED1/4/1/2, 11 Sept 1876, p. 211.

in November 1873, on a salary of £5 p.a.²⁸⁴ The first list of defaulting parents was laid before the Board in March 1874. The scale of the problem was such that it was decided impractical to attempt to deal with it in its entirety, but instead it was decided to focus on parents of children over the age of eight and whose children lived close to the School Board schools. Children attending Miss Sutherland's sewing school were not to be regarded as truants.²⁸⁵ The first eight parents duly appeared before the Board in May 1874, all of whom claimed either that their child was ill, or that they could not afford clothing.²⁸⁶ During the period November 1876 to March 1878 children were regularly identified as habitually absent from school, but their parents' explanations, of ill-health and poverty, were generally accepted as genuine. There does not seem to be a gender aspect to those defaulting, as there were seven named boys, seven named girls, and others referred to simply as children.

In Aberdeen, the first School Board concluded that they could not enforce the Compulsory Clause because of the shortfall in school places, but by November 1876 the second triennial Board was actively enforcing it. During the quarter ending April 1877, the truancy officers made 623 visits to family homes, following up reports made by teachers, served 68 notices and 17 summonses for prosecution, and had found 28 truants on the streets and taken them to school.²⁸⁷ Of those children whose parents appeared before the School Board, most were aged 9, 10 or 11. Younger children's names appear in the records only when they were part of a larger family group, such as Helen Birnie, aged 5 years and 3 months, who was the youngest of four children of widowed Helen Birnie not attending school. In this instance the Board was sympathetic and referred the family to a charitable Trust for assistance. 'Want of clothing' was an early reason for non-attendance, but ceased to be quite quickly, possibly because of the involvement of charities. In September 1877, truancy officers dealt with 857 cases, none of which cited lack of suitable clothing as a reason. Between November 1876 and March 1878, the

²⁸⁴ Clyne School Board minutes GB/NNAF/C1855 1873-1918, 4 Nov 1873.

²⁸⁵ Clyne School Board minutes GB/NNAF/C1855 5 Mar 1874.

²⁸⁶ Clyne School Board minutes GB/NNAF/C1855 5 May 1874.

²⁸⁷ Aberdeen School Board minutes ED 1180/1/2, 10 May 1877.

parents of 112 boys and 109 girls appeared before the Board, and it can therefore be concluded that gender was not an issue.

Dundee faced a huge truancy problem. Most of those identified as truanting were dealt with in a low-key manner initially, by simply warning the children and their families. In September 1876, the School Board records showed that over 2,000 children had been warned, of whom 297 were enrolled in School Board schools, and 1881 were enrolled in one of fifty-four non-Board schools.²⁸⁸ The sheer number of pupils and schools indicate the scale of the problem and the impossibility of doing more than warning the majority. Unlike Aberdeen, Dundee truancy officers focussed on removing children from the streets; or perhaps Dundee truants were simply more visible. Only persistent truants were named in School Board records, and their parents or guardians threatened with court action. Often families which came to the attention of the School Board had more than one child truant, as was the case also in Aberdeen and Clyne. In Dundee, during the term of the second School Board, 72 boys and 46 girls were named. This may suggest that either boys were more likely to be absent from school than girls, or that the Truancy officers took boys' absence more seriously than girls, and were more likely to follow it up. However, it seems likely that the emphasis on dealing with visible truancy impacted less on girls who might be at home to mind younger siblings or for other household tasks.

In Edinburgh, the 1877-78 School Board minutes simply record statistics of numbers of children visited by the Compulsory Officer and his assistants. There are no details of individual children. The carefully-compiled statistics are impressive; in the four weeks ending 30 Dec 1876, for example, 3,753 children were visited. These were divided into seven categories, including 'gone to school' (1770). The largest category was 'absent through temporary causes' (1818) which was sub-divided by age (1091 were over seven, 727 were under seven) and by the nature of the temporary absence. 'Want of clothes' accounted for only 31 children.²⁸⁹

²⁸⁸ Dundee School Board minutes, 25 Sept 1876.

²⁸⁹ Edinburgh School Board minutes SL28/2/1 10 Jan 1877, p. 10.

In conclusion, at the outset of the period of compulsory education, the legislation as interpreted and applied by the School Boards varied from area to area. Only Dundee appeared to have a gender difference in the children of the parents brought before the Board, but this may have been because their priority was to end the practise of truants hanging around the streets, and boys may have been more visible in this context. Edinburgh produced extensive statistics, but the records do not include details of individual families. Aberdeen kept detailed records of the ages, in years and months, of truanting children and also details of families which were referred for charitable assistance. Clyne records name individual children, with specific personal details of some.

During 1886 to 1888, the Kildonan School Board minutes record that parents appeared before the School Board in respect of twelve boys and eleven girls. Two girls and one boy had been kept off school to help at home. These figures represented only the tip of the iceberg; in June 1886, Kildonan Board summonsed only those parents whose children had been absent more than 20 times in the preceding month.²⁹⁰ Presumably, children who were absent for only a few days were not followed up. In 1888, the School Board minutes stated that ‘children (are) frequently irregular but no really serious cases – children irregular from such causes as sickness, stormy weather, want of shoes etc.’²⁹¹ Kildonan School Board at this point was highly politicised. It included members sympathetic to the Highland Land League, which championed the crofters’ cause and was therefore unlikely to prosecute poor crofting parents.²⁹² Another difficulty in Kildonan, Loth and Clyne was that the Default Officer was not well paid, and was a secondary or possibly tertiary occupation for the holder. Default officer duties, therefore had to fit in around the Officer’s main employment.

²⁹⁰ Kildonan School Board minutes GB/NNAF/C1923, 10 June 1886.

²⁹¹ Kildonan School Board Minutes, GB/NNAF/C1923, 24 Feb 1888.

²⁹² School Board members in 1888 included William Cuthbert, fishcurer, and George Bruce, baker, both of Helmsdale – see MacLeod, Joseph, *Highland Heroes of the Land Reform Movement*, Highland News Publishing Company, 1917, pp. 52 and 107 (Cuthbert) and p. 157 (Bruce).

‘Want of shoes’ was also a continuing problem in Dundee, where a charitable clothing fund was set up to provide clothing for children to enable them to go to school. In 1887/88, 39 boys and 36 girls were provided with a full outfit of clothing, and 20 boys and 14 girls were provided with boots and stockings. It would be interesting to know if this gender balance was representative of other years. Ninety-five of those assisted from the clothing fund subsequently attended school regularly, which the School Board took as proof that ‘want of clothing’ had been the reason for previous non-attendance. The following year, the Truant Officer reported that;

Another cause of the increasing truancy seems to be the greater demand for female labour in mills and factories since the revival in trade. In many cases where mothers were supplementing the family income by sewing sacks etc. in the house, they have now gone out to work, leaving the children all day with very little supervision or oversight. They are perhaps told to go to school, but as the school and factory hours do not coincide, parents and children may seldom come together excepting at night.

This is another example of the interplay of gender and truancy in Dundee, where a working mother is linked to her children’s truancy. In Edinburgh, the 1886-87 School Board minutes record the names and addresses of parents summoned before the School Boards but make no mention of the sex or age of the children.²⁹³ No conclusion can therefore be drawn as to the gender balance of those dealt with by the Board.

In conclusion, in the late 1880s, after over a decade of compulsory education, in East Sutherland, equal numbers of girls and boys were reported as failing to attend school. The records in Edinburgh do not reveal the sex of truants, and so no conclusion can be drawn. However, in Dundee there were several gendered aspects to truancy; boys were seen as the more problematic truants, whereas girls were more likely to be missing school to earn money. Boys were more likely to be assisted with clothing, although the numbers are not large enough to be statistically significant. The absence of maternal supervision was also believed to contribute to the city’s high truancy rates.

²⁹³ Edinburgh School Board Minutes 1886 SL28/2/10; Edinburgh School Board minutes 1887 SL28/2/11.

By 1899-1900, little had changed in Kildonan, Loth and Clyne. Truants were identified, but action was seldom taken. As Archibald McEwen, jr, Default Officer for Loth, explained ‘a number of children (are) in regular attendance, but all cases reported have given genuine reasons, chiefly sickness. Influenza and measles have been frequent.’²⁹⁴ Indeed, in 1899, Kinbrace School was closed completely from 23 Feb-16 March because of measles²⁹⁵ and Portgower School from 6-15 March because of influenza.²⁹⁶ The Default Officer was paid £5.00 p.a., and for this he was expected to visit each of Loth’s two schools once a fortnight and submit a monthly report to the Board.²⁹⁷ In Kildonan, the Board decided to ask the teachers of the small inland schools to act as Default Officer in addition to their teaching post. This must have created a conflict of interest, but both teachers, Alexander Sutherland at Kildonan and Miss Sutherland at Kinbrace, accepted, and were paid 30 shillings per annum in addition to their teaching salary.²⁹⁸ In Kildonan, both William Cuthbert and George Bruce were on the School Board in 1900, as was a William Sutherland and a John Fraser, both of whom who may also have been an active Land Leaguers.²⁹⁹ Dundee was still struggling in 1899. The *Dundee Courier* reported ‘Dundee School Board met yesterday without discussing any question of extraordinary interest. The principal topics discussed were ...the evergreen attendance question.’ In particular the Board discussed the thorny question of children who were refused admittance to school because of their ‘unclean condition.’ One Board member remarked that ‘Defaulting parents were most unscrupulous in the assigning of reasons for their own faults. As to neglected children he did not know how School Boards were to undertake the unsavoury duty of cleansing them.’³⁰⁰ Aberdeen by this time had installed a bath in at least one east end school, and had a programme of bathing dirty children and replacing filthy and ragged clothes with clean second hand clothes.

²⁹⁴ Loth School Board minutes, GB/NNAF/C2080, 21 Mar 1899.

²⁹⁵ Kildonan School Board minutes GB/NNAF/C1923, 14 Mar 1899

²⁹⁶ Loth School Board minutes GB/NNAF/C2080, 21 March 1899

²⁹⁷ Loth School Board minutes GB/NNAF/C2080, 12 May 1899.

²⁹⁸ Kildonan School Board minutes GB/NNAF/C1923, 9 May 1899, 27 Dec 1899 and 10 Jan 1900.

²⁹⁹ Kildonan School Board minutes GB/NNAF/C1923, 28 March 1900.

³⁰⁰ *Dundee Courier and Argus* 2 May 1899, p. 6.

There was a large variation in attitude to truancy between the different areas throughout the period. East Sutherland and Dundee faced the biggest challenges in enforcing the Compulsory clause; with Dundee making strenuous efforts, whereas East Sutherland appears to have paid mere lip-service to the legislation. Edinburgh produced impressive statistics, but these did not include the gender ratio of truants. Govan pursued parents vigorously. Aberdeen School Board records give useful information on the family background of some of the cases. My original intention, to compare the areas, proved impossible because of the wildly differing nature of the records. This demonstrates that a piece of legislation could be interpreted and carried out in very different ways in different parts of the country, however, gender does not seem to have been a significant factor in any area apart from Dundee. Girls' absence from school does not appear to have been taken less seriously than boys.

Needlework

One further issue faced by the would-be lass o'pairs was the content of the curriculum. The 1872 Education Act did not only create a need for better quality school buildings, but also the need for a standardised curriculum. This standardised curriculum, and the role of needlework within it, was hotly debated. There was some regional variation in curriculum, with dairy work being taught to girls in some areas, and navigation being taught to boys in coastal areas, but needlework was taught according to a national scheme, prescribed by the Scotch Education Department Code.³⁰¹ Govan School Board, when setting its fees in 1874, charged extra for needlework, music and drawing, suggesting that these were not seen as core subjects.³⁰² The debate as to the content of this curriculum touched on issues such as the role of women and the uses and status of needlework. What were girls being educated for? The debate about the role of needlework in schools encapsulated the debate about women's role generally, and it was possible for women of broadly differing outlooks to come to the same conclusion for different reasons. Women who campaigned for Women's Rights and those who saw

³⁰¹ See e.g. Northcroft, David *Scots at School*, E.U.P. 2003, p. 175.

³⁰² Govan School Board minutes D-ED 1/4/1/1, 8 June 1874, p. 123.

women's role as strictly domestic both had reasons to promote Needlework education. Fee paying schools in Aberdeen and Edinburgh, and those Glasgow schools used by affluent Govan families had a rigorously academic curriculum, favoured by parents whose daughters could expect to employ domestic servants in adulthood. However, the School Boards had to educate the vast majority of girls who could not expect to employ servants in adulthood. What role did these girls expect to play in adulthood? Firstly, many felt that the main role of girls was to grow up to become wives and the mothers of the next generation. Their education, therefore, ought to concentrate on domestic subjects. By this argument, all girls should be taught dressmaking, mending, knitting and possibly other related handcrafts such as tatting or crochet. This argument was bolstered by increasing concerns as to the physical condition of many of Scotland's children, particularly those growing up in overcrowded, damp housing in the cities. The ragged state of many children's clothing was noticed, with various charities involved in supplying clothing to poor children. Clearly, something had to be done to ameliorate the conditions that many children were raised in. One solution was to teach sewing, so that poor mothers could patch and darn their children's clothes into some semblance of decency. If only girls could sew, cook and budget, ran this argument, slum housing could be transformed, and children kept healthy despite low wages and high rents. At the same time, others advocated the teaching of domestic subjects as a means to provide girls with career opportunities, as servants or teachers. The 'servant problem' was much discussed with wealthier families having difficulty obtaining good servants. Teaching domestic subjects in schools was seen as a way of improving the ability of girls to be good servants and take advantage of job opportunities. Sewing could also lead to jobs as dressmakers, milliners or upholsters, or to piece work from home to supplement the family income. These, however, were poorly paid occupations, with piece work particularly badly paid.

This debate, which affected the education of every girl in a School Board school in Scotland, is often seen as having been conducted on class lines, with middle-class women imposing their values on largely working class girls. Corr, for example, claims that 'a small group of middle-class female intellectuals exercised considerable power and influence as a pressure group on policy-making decisions relating to domestic education

for girls.’³⁰³ These women felt that needlework should be taught in a manner that would raise the status of needlework, and consequently raise the status of those women who practised needlework. Their argument was that needlework ought to be regarded as the equivalent of male skilled trades, and not just as something which was regarded as self-evidently easy, because women did it. A schoolmistress from Newton Stewart argued that needlework ‘ought to be accepted by the (Scotch Education) Department as equivalent to any manual occupation for boys. ...I fail to see that the one is more useful than the other or in any essential point different.’³⁰⁴

Although the women championing needlework in Edinburgh did conform to Corr’s description of ‘middle-class females’ this was not the case elsewhere. Agnes Walker³⁰⁵ a plasterer’s daughter was at the forefront of those trying to raise the status of needlework in the North East of Scotland. She was Lady Superintendent of Aberdeen Free Church Teacher Training College and a teacher of Needlework. She wrote two influential textbooks; the ‘Manual of Needlework and Cutting Out’ in 1897, which by the time of her death was in its sixth edition, and ‘How to Make Up Garments’ in 1907.³⁰⁶ The Manual of Needlework ultimately ran to eleven editions, being revised by Jane A Strachan after Walker’s death. These books were meticulously written and carefully illustrated. Walker thus influenced the teaching of needlework in two ways – through her students and through her books. Her aim was to raise the status of needlework, which she felt was too often denigrated as a ‘girl’s subject.’ Not that Miss Walker had any objection to ‘girls’ subjects’ – she believed in a gendered curriculum – but she objected to ‘girls’ subjects being treated as of less worth than a ‘boys’ subject. In 1897 she complained that ‘Headmasters often think and act as if girls sewed by instinct’³⁰⁷

³⁰³ Corr, Helen “The Schoolgirls’ Curriculum and the Ideology of the Home” in Glasgow Women’s Studies Group, *Uncharted Lives: Extracts from Scottish Women’s Experiences, 1850-1982*, Pressgang, 1983, p. 74

³⁰⁴ *Educational News* 1902 p. 728.

³⁰⁵ Agnes Walker (1850-1908) Superintendent of the Free Church Teacher Training College, Aberdeen

³⁰⁶ Walker, Agnes *How to Make Up Garments*, Blackie and Son, 1907.

³⁰⁷ Walker, Agnes *Manual of Needlework and Cutting Out*, Blackie and Son, 1897, p. 4.

Agnes Walker believed that girls should receive a different, but equal education to boys. She believed that there were separate spheres in which each should have the opportunity to excel. Although she herself had a career – she had gained her LLA,³⁰⁸ was active in the E.I.S, and had reached the top of her profession – she felt that most women were destined for a domestic role in life, and that the main aim of their education was to raise the status of this domestic role. She described needlework as;

not a mere intellectual subject, but a domestic art, requiring time to practise it....if needlework is wisely and intelligently taught, it must develop the artistic taste and constructive faculties of the girls, besides incalculating habits of neatness, cleanliness, thrift, order, and industry in those who are to be the true Home Rulers of the twentieth century.³⁰⁹

In this respect she was in agreement with those who saw the teaching of domestic subjects as a way to ameliorate the dreadful living conditions of the poor, but her aim went beyond that, to include ‘artistic taste.’ It followed that if the status of needlework could be raised on a par with that of male technical subjects, then the status of women, as practitioners of needlework would rise too. Agnes Walker may be regarded as a ‘lass o’ pairts’ but her emphasis on domestic skills effectively disadvantaged other potential lasses, by reducing the amount of classroom time available for more academic subjects.

Conclusion.

Access to a basic elementary education was the first rung on the educational ladder which enabled boys and girls to become lads and lasses o’ pairts. It would appear that a basic elementary education was generally obtainable in each of the areas prior to 1872, although geographic distance in east Sutherland and the demand for child labour in

³⁰⁸ Lady Literate in Arts, an external degree-equivalent offered by St Andrews University for women. Women could study from home, and attend an examination centre to sit the exams.

³⁰⁹ Walker, Agnes, *Manual of Needlework and Cutting Out*, Blackie and Son, 1897, p. 4.

Dundee effectively prevented many children from accessing it. In Dundee the demand for child mill workers was predominantly for girls, reducing their educational opportunities disproportionately. After 1872, political difficulties peculiar to east Sutherland blighted the education of a generation of children, and continuing lack of school provision did likewise in Dundee. However, for those for whom the 1872 Act had successfully created compulsory school places, in Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Govan, and then Dundee and East Sutherland, education was seen as equally important for both sexes. In Dundee, however, the need for girls to supplement family income by working in the jute mills, as half-timers, continued to bring their education to a premature end. Girls in all areas had a less academic education than boys, owing to the emphasis placed on domestic skills within the curriculum. Boys were taught woodwork, but there was less emphasis and time devoted to this. Nevertheless, throughout the pre-and-post 1872 period, it was possible for girls from the working and lower middle classes to obtain sufficient elementary education to progress to post-elementary education. The next accessible rung for working and lower-middle class girls meant becoming a pupil teacher, which enabled them to remain in the education system until they were eighteen. I will examine the pupil-teacher system in the next chapter.

Chapter Three

Female Access to Post-elementary Education.

Introduction

The previous chapter established that elementary education was generally available in the areas under discussion, with some regional variety created by geographical distance, lack of school provision and the half-time system. There was no minimum leaving age prior to 1872, but the Education (Scotland) Act 1872 made education compulsory for all those aged between 5 and 13. The leaving age was raised to 14 in 1883. However, in 1878, the Scotch Education Department (SED) permitted those who had attained Standard V to leave school at 12, and those who had attained Standard III to work part time. I now intend to examine whether it was possible for working-class and lower middle class girls to extend their education beyond the age of thirteen or, later, fourteen, beyond the basic elementary level, either by simply staying on at school, or as a paid monitor or pupil teacher. Of these three possibilities the main vehicle for staying on was through the pupil teacher system.

The pupil teacher system evolved from the monitorial system over the first four decades of the nineteenth century. There were initially two monitorial systems, used in the early years of the nineteenth century by Joseph Lancaster and Andrew Bell. Lancaster's system was primarily used in England, although Lancastrian schools opened in Glasgow in 1810, Edinburgh in 1811 and Aberdeen in 1815,³¹⁰ with a Girls' Lancastrian school opening in Aberdeen in the 1820s. One of the Lancastrian teachers in Aberdeen, Georgina Morren, was the maternal aunt of Harriet Warrack, who became one of Aberdeen's foremost educationalists,³¹¹ which may suggest an ongoing influence in regards to girls' education. Of more influence in Scotland was the monitorial system promoted by Dr. Andrew Bell, also known as the 'Madras' system. Dr Bell also left a

³¹⁰ Anderson, Robert, *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918* Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 36.

³¹¹ Harriet Warrack (c1825-1910) see Lindy Moore, 'Warrack, Harriet (*bap.* 1825, *d.* 1910)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/53692>, accessed 26 Dec 2012]. Harriet Warrack herself came from a comfortably affluent family and is therefore outwith the scope of this thesis.

legacy to establish schools for the poor in Aberdeen, Inverness, Edinburgh, Leith and Glasgow, and Madras Academy in St Andrews.³¹² Both Lancaster and Bell's systems involved a teacher teaching a small group of able pupils, who would in turn teach groups of younger children. This method enabled large numbers of children to be taught cheaply. The monitorial systems fell into disuse once the pupil teacher system became established, although monitors continued to be used in some schools throughout the nineteenth century.

The pupil teacher system originated in Harlem, in the Netherlands, where it was observed by James Kay (later Kay-Shuttleworth).³¹³ The pupil teacher system was introduced to Scotland in 1846. Pupil teachers were girls and boys from the age of thirteen, who undertook a five-year apprenticeship and were paid a small salary. They assisted teachers with their work, and also received education themselves. At the end of five years pupil teaching they could compete for a 'Queen's Scholarship' to attend Normal College for two years. Pupil teachers were increasingly female; in 1870, 41% of Scotland's 3,227 pupil teachers were female; by 1880 it was 62% of 4,582 and by 1899 it was 81% of 4,111.³¹⁴ Pupil teaching was therefore a means of extending education for a significant number of girls. Moreover, as will be seen in Chapter Four, pupil teaching became the gateway into a career as a teacher. Teachers were paid a government grant for undertaking the extra work involved in training pupil teachers; the impact of this on female teachers will be examined in Chapter 5 of this thesis. Pupil teaching was a cheap way of increasing the teaching capacity of a school, as it both earned a grant and enabled more children to be taught, further increasing a school's income. Anderson's work on education and opportunity in Scotland focusses on the route to University, and does not, therefore, look at the situation for women. He points out that 'the pupil-teacher system and the training colleges were an important avenue of social mobility.'³¹⁵ Although this remark pertains to men, in this thesis I hope to discover if it also applies to women; Anderson suggests it might when he describes pupil teaching as 'a very significant

³¹² Anderson, Robert, *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918* Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 96.

³¹³ Bone, T.R. *School Inspection in Scotland 1840-1966*, University of London Press, 1968, p. 35.

³¹⁴ Anderson, Robert, *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918* Clarendon Press, 1995, Table 7.1, p. 177.

³¹⁵ Anderson, Robert D. *Education and Opportunity in Victorian Scotland*, EUP, 1989, p. 155.

channel of social mobility, open both to the working class and to women.³¹⁶ One school inspector commented that pupil teacherships attracted more ‘better born and brought up girls than boys.’³¹⁷ It is beyond the scope of this thesis to examine the social origin of male pupil teachers, but I intend to discover the social background of female pupil teachers.

Staying on at School

The census returns suggest that girls from the working and lower middle classes did occasionally stay on at school. In Kildonan, Loth and Clyne, it was not unusual for children of both sexes to stay on at school past the leaving age. Anderson provides figures from the 1871 census showing school attendance by age, sex and county.³¹⁸ He points out that the Highlands had a different pattern of attendance to the lowlands ‘with children slower to start school, but then staying on longer.’³¹⁹ This was still the case in 1881 for both sexes.³²⁰ In Kildonan in 1881 28 girls aged 13 or over were described as ‘scholars’ in the census. This is approximately the same as the number of boys (30). One, Margaret Rutherford, was 18. She subsequently became a general servant in the inn run by her aunt.³²¹ The situation was similar in Loth. Table 3.2 shows the distribution by age and sex of scholars in Loth in the 1881 census. It shows that, firstly, that although the starting age was five, there were fewer five years than six year olds at school. Many parents felt that five was too young, especially if the children faced a long walk to school. No child is described as a half-timer, probably because there was no employment which required formal part time child labour; children could fit in croft work around the school day, and take days off if necessary to help with seasonal work. Of interest is the number of girls continuing past the leaving age; one girl in Loth, crofter’s daughter Jessie Ewing, was 17,³²² crofter’s daughters Isabella and Louisa Sutherland were 16 and 15,³²³ and

³¹⁶ Anderson, Robert D. *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918* Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 156.

³¹⁷ David Middleton, in 1870, quoted in Bone, T.R. *School Inspection in Scotland 1840-1966*, University of London Press, 1968, p. 65.

³¹⁸ Anderson, Robert D. *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918* Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 123.

³¹⁹ Anderson, Robert D. *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918* Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 122.

³²⁰ One cautionary note must be sounded, however. When individual entries in the census are examined, it quickly becomes apparent that in Kildonan, Loth and Clyne, ages of schoolchildren are not always accurate.

³²¹ 1891 census Kildonan 3 16 2.

³²² Jessie Sutherland, Gamekeepers wife and mother of four in 1891. 1891 census, Loth, 2-9-6

fisherman's daughter Annie Sutherland was 15. Twins Mary and Elspeth Rae, 16, came from a more affluent background. Their father was a farm manager from Selkirk, one of those brought up to the Highlands by wealthy landowners to introduce new farming methods. The family subsequently moved to Fife, where both Mary and Elspeth were described as 'farmers daughters' in 1891.³²⁴

Table 3.2: Schoolchildren by age and sex in Loth in 1881.

	Male	Female	Total
Under 5	0	0	0
5	4	6	10
6	9	10	19
7	8	6	14
8	7	6	13
9	7	9	16
10	9	8	17
11	8	4	12
12	10	5	15
13	5	9	14
14	2	4	6
15	5	2	7
16	0	3	3
17	0	1	1
Total	74	73	147

Nevertheless this suggests that remaining at school was a possibility for working class girls in Loth. However, Anderson cautions that 'the surprisingly high attendance levels

³²³ Daughters of William Sutherland, crofter, Loth *Loth*; ED: 1; Page: 8; Line: 14; Roll: *csset1881_14*. Isabella's subsequent life is unknown, Louisa remained at home caring for her elderly father.

³²⁴ 1891 census Strathmiglo, Fife. 3 – 2 – 3.

(of those past leaving age) in the highlands ...might be a sign of prolonged and intermittent rather than advanced education.³²⁵

Although Clyne had a larger population, fewer girls continued past the leaving age; although there were many 14 year old girls at school, there were only four older than that; crofter's daughter Christina MacLeod³²⁶ and farmer's daughter Ester Sutherland³²⁷ were 16, crofter's niece Catherine Grant,³²⁸ and fishcurer's daughter Sarah Sutherland³²⁹ were 15. This could reflect the greater availability of work in Clyne; many teenage girls worked as fisherwomen. In conclusion, there is evidence of girls in East Sutherland continuing to attend school well past the leaving age, although this may well simply confirm Anderson's observations of the pattern of school attendance in the Highlands, rather than a commitment to educational advancement. Certainly, where it has been possible to identify the girls in subsequent census returns, they do not appear to have been upwardly socially mobile.³³⁰

There is evidence of extended education amongst girls in Edinburgh. There appear to have been small areas in which several older working class girls were at school. I speculate that this may indicate localised charitable schemes, but have no proof. For example, Skinners Close, off the Royal Mile was clearly overcrowded and adult occupations included costermongers and charwomen. And yet in 1851, 14 year old Agnes Galloway,³³¹ living with her sister and brother-in-law, a mason's labourer, was a 'scholar.' as was 16 year old Isabella McLaren.³³² living with her widowed mother. In Carrubers Court, also off the Royal Mile, 17 year old Catherine Smith, whose father was a journeyman marblecutter in 1851 was a 'scholar.'³³³ Thomas Goldie³³⁴ was a cabinet

³²⁵ Anderson, R.D. *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918* Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 140.

³²⁶ Clyne; ED: 3; Page: 10; Line: 18; Roll: *cssct1881_12*.

³²⁷ Clyne; ED: 3; Page: 10; Line: 6; Roll: *cssct1881_12*.

³²⁸ Clyne; ED: 3; Page: 14; Line: 19; Roll: *cssct1881_12*.

³²⁹ Clyne; ED: 4; Page: 9; Line: 9; Roll: *cssct1881_12*.

³³⁰ The relatively small number of surnames in the area, especially the large number of Sutherlands, has hampered tracing girls' subsequent lives.

³³¹ *Edinburgh Iron Church*; ED: 2; Page: 5; Line: 11; Roll: *CSSCT1851_178*; Year: 1851.

³³² *Edinburgh Iron Church*; ED: 2; Page: 6; Line: 4; Roll: *CSSCT1851_178*; Year: 1851.

³³³ *Edinburgh Trinity College*; ED: 3; Page: 14; Line: 15; Roll: *CSSCT1851_178*; Year: 1851.

³³⁴ His surname appears variously as as Goudie and Goldie in different records.

maker employing ten men, but the family did not have a domestic servant listed in their household in 1851. His eldest daughter, Joan, was an upholstery assistant, but his daughter Mary, aged 18, was described as a 'student' whilst his daughter Agnes, 16, was a 'scholar.'³³⁵ Examples of working class older girls described as 'scholars' in the Edinburgh census returns are not hard to find. Similarly, the census returns suggest that extended education did exist amongst working class girls in Govan; coalminer's daughter Jane Bennie, aged 16 was a scholar, though her younger brother was a shoemaker's apprentice. Her 13 year old neighbour Janet Murray, also a coalminer's daughter, was a flyer in a cotton mill.³³⁶ Census returns provide only a snapshot of a moment in time; however they are official documents, whose completion was supervised by qualified enumerators. The census returns suggest that it was not unknown for working class girls to have an extended education prior to and after education until the age of thirteen became compulsory as a result of the Education (Scotland) Act 1872.

Monitors³³⁷

Although the monitorial systems had been replaced by the pupil teacher system, some girls and boys continued to be employed as monitors, on a less formal basis than that of pupil teachers. Anderson quotes a figure of 70 stipendiary monitors in Scotland in 1870.³³⁸ Monitors are under-reported as an occupation in the census returns. In east Sutherland, there are no monitors recorded in the census returns for Kildonan, Loth and Clyne, but the School Board records show that they were employed. For example, in 1884, Christina McMillan, aged 16, whose late father had been a teacher, was 'appointed monitor until the Inspector's visit.'³³⁹ In 1886 she was referred to as a Pupil teacher³⁴⁰ and by 1891 she was teaching in Resolis, Rossshire.³⁴¹ Jane Melville was 'continued as

³³⁵ *Edinburgh St George*; ED: 21; Page: 25; Line: 6; Roll: CSSCT1851_179; Year: 1851.

³³⁶ A flyer removed full bobbins and replaced them with empty bobbins.

³³⁷ Although "monitor" could be used for either sex, in some areas female monitors were referred to as "monitoresses". In the following section I have used whichever term was used in the original source.

³³⁸ Anderson, Robert, *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918* Clarendon Press, 1995, Table 7.1, p. 177.

³³⁹ Kildonan School Board minutes, CS/5/3/8/1, 16 Sept 1884.

³⁴⁰ Kildonan School Board minutes, CS/5/3/8/1, 22 June 1886.

³⁴¹ 1891 census *Resolis*; ED: 4; Page: 2; Line: 19; Roll: CSSCT1891_21.

Monitor at Portgower³⁴² in 1899, with an increase in salary of £1 10s pa. In 1900 she was earning £8 pa as a monitor³⁴³ but by the 1901 census she was a domestic servant.³⁴⁴ In 1894, Kildonan School Board decided to appoint two stipendiary monitors, Bella Anderson³⁴⁵ and Barbara Gunn³⁴⁶ at a salary of £5 each, instead of one pupil teacher, and in 1899, Dolina McLeod was a ‘temporary monitoress’ at Helmsdale, earning £5pa.³⁴⁷ In each of these four cases, the periods as a monitor fell between census returns, and so do not indicate a ‘missing’ occupation. Monitors were rarely used in Aberdeen. Helen F. Laing, from a family of paper-mill workers, was a monitor in 1891³⁴⁸ at a school just outside Aberdeen. When she died two years later, aged 16, she was described as a pupil teacher.³⁴⁹ Elspet Duncan was a monitor in 1871; her mother was matron at the House of Refuge, and Duncan may have worked with the children in the refuge.³⁵⁰ As will be discussed later, the pupil teacher system in Aberdeen was well organised and thus obviated the need for monitors. Monitors, both male and female, were more common in Dundee. In 1877, Dundee School Board employed twelve,³⁵¹ but few appear as such in the census returns. Nellie Soutar, a monitor in 1881³⁵² had become one of Dundee’s few female clerks by 1891, indicating for that city a rare example of upward social mobility for a working class girl.³⁵³ Monitor Hannah Robertson came from a background which was, as will be explored further, common amongst socially upward mobile girls. Her father had been a master mariner, her widowed mother took in lodgers and her three elder brothers all became clerks.³⁵⁴ Joiner’s daughter Barbara Shepherd was an 18 year old monitor in 1901.³⁵⁵ One rare example of a monitor from a family connected to the jute

³⁴² Loth School Board Minutes CS 5/3/10/2 21 March 1899.

³⁴³ Loth School Board Minutes CS 5/3/10/2 1901.

³⁴⁴ 1901 census *Loth*; ED: 1; Page: 6; Line: 16; Roll: *CSSCT1901_15*.

³⁴⁵ Presumably police sergeant’s daughter Isabella Anderson, who was aged 13, at school, in 1891 *Kildonan*; ED: 3; Page: 10; Line: 7; Roll: *CSSCT1891_14*.

³⁴⁶ Presumably Barbara Gunn who was aged 12, at school, in 1891 *Loth*; ED: 1; Page: 5; Line: 4; Roll: *CSSCT1891_15*.

³⁴⁷ Kildonan School Board minutes CS 5/3/8/2, 14 Mar 1899.

³⁴⁸ 1891 census *Aberdeen Old Machar*; ED: 5; Page: 14; Line: 4; Roll: *CSSCT1891_56*.

³⁴⁹ *Aberdeen Weekly Journal* 4 May 1893.

³⁵⁰ 1871 census *Aberdeen St Nicholas*; ED: 16; Page: 4; Line: 16; Roll: *CSSCT1871_31*.

³⁵¹ Dundee School Board minutes, Volume One, p299, 27 Aug 1877.

³⁵² 1881 census *St Peter*; ED: 15; Page: 3; Line: 17; Roll: *cssct1881_80*. (living with widowed mother)

³⁵³ 1891 census *Dundee*; ED: 5; Page: 26; Line: 12; Roll: *CSSCT1891_86*. (living with widowed mother)

³⁵⁴ 1901 census *Ferry Port on Craig*; ED: 2; Page: 16; Line: 5; Roll: *CSSCT1901_138*.

³⁵⁵ 1901 census *Dundee*; ED: 26; Page: 41; Line: 7; Roll: *CSSCT1901_98*.

industry was calendar worker's daughter Euphemia Yule,³⁵⁶ an 11 year old monitor at Wallacetown Sessional School in 1877.³⁵⁷ Four years later she was a weaver,³⁵⁸ who became a confectioner³⁵⁹ before returning to weaving after marriage.³⁶⁰ The young age at which she became a monitor suggests that Dundee set the standard required for monitors low, compared to the other case study areas.

Govan School Board initially employed 'candidates' i.e. candidates to become pupil teachers. These were, presumably, monitors under a different title, and indeed, from the mid-1870s, the term 'candidate' started to be used interchangeably with, and then replaced by 'monitor.' Both male and female candidates were paid £8 p.a. Marion Maltman was a manufacturer's daughter and the seventh of a family of eight. Her family employed a domestic servant in the 1861 census, although this may have been due to the new baby (Marion) in the household.³⁶¹ Her father died when Marion was three, and her mother became a housekeeper.³⁶² Marion became a candidate and then a pupil teacher in Govan.³⁶³ By 1881, she was a student at Normal College, with an elder sister, Barbara, already teaching.³⁶⁴ She was teaching in Govan in 1891.³⁶⁵ Martha Simpson had an interesting family background; her father was Scottish, her mother Welsh and she and her seven siblings were born in Spain. Her father was an engineer, described as 'unemployed' in the 1871 census.³⁶⁶ Martha became a candidate, and then a pupil teacher, and thereafter had a lifetime career as a teacher, as did her younger sister, Helen.³⁶⁷ These are examples of an initial post as a candidate / monitor leading seamlessly on to a career in teaching. Also in Govan, 15 year old Irish-born Mary

³⁵⁶ Euphemia Cuthbert Yule, born 3 Nov 1865 in Dundee. Married surname Turnbull.

³⁵⁷ Dundee School Board minutes 3 Sept 1877.

³⁵⁸ *Liff*, ED: 5; Page: 36; Line: 25; Roll: *cssct1881_89*.

³⁵⁹ *Liff, Benvie and Invergowrie*; ED: 4; Page: 12; Line: 15; Roll: *CSSCT1891_97*.

³⁶⁰ *Liff, Benvie and Invergowrie*; ED: 4; Page: 38; Line: 5; Roll: *CSSCT1901_104*.

³⁶¹ 1861 census *Rutherglen*; ED: 6; Page: 10; Line: 19; Roll: *CSSCT1861_119*.

³⁶² 1871 census *Glasgow Barony*; ED: 87; Page: 5; Line: 21; Roll: *CSSCT1871_136*.

³⁶³ Govan School Board Staff List. Entry 102.

³⁶⁴ 1881 census *Glasgow Govan*; ED: 55; Page: 10; Line: 15; Roll: *cssct1881_250*.

³⁶⁵ 1891 census *Glasgow Govan*; ED: 50; Page: 5; Line: 17; Roll: *CSSCT1891_296*.

³⁶⁶ 1871 census *Glasgow Govan*; ED: 73; Page: 8; Line: 24; Roll: *CSSCT1871_140*.

³⁶⁷ 1881 census *Glasgow Kinning Park*; ED: 29; Page: 8; Line: 12; Roll: *cssct1881_251*.

1891 census *Glasgow Barony*; ED: 64; Page: 13; Line: 5; Roll: *CSSCT1891_269*.

1901 census *Glasgow Blythswood*; ED: 39; Page: 23; Line: 16; Roll: *CSSCT1901_293*.

Death certificate of Martha Simpson 1946 842/00 0027.

Mullen was a monitor, presumably in a Roman Catholic school, as she was boarding with three priests.³⁶⁸ Margaret Gray described herself as a ‘Half-time monitor and scholar’ and was presumably working in a half-time school. Her father was a joiner.³⁶⁹ Helen Harkness, daughter of the Rev Robert Harkness, was employed by Govan School Board as a stipendiary monitor when it opened Pollockshields School in 1879. It is not clear why she was a monitor, rather than a pupil teacher, but she (and her elder sisters Agnes and Mary) became teachers.³⁷⁰ In Edinburgh, mason’s daughter, Mary W Henderson was a monitor in 1891 and went on to become a teacher.³⁷¹

In conclusion, monitors were few and far between in Edinburgh, Aberdeen, and Dundee. In Govan, however, they appear to have been integrated into a system by which monitors became pupil teachers. In all areas they appear to have been drawn from the same class as pupil teachers i.e. from skilled working class backgrounds. Any form of extended education was clearly beneficial, with several monitors going on to become pupil teachers, teachers or, in the case of Nellie Soutar, a clerk.

Pupil teachers

The availability of pupil teacherships varied throughout Scotland, as only certificated teachers could take on a pupil teacher, and the proportion of certificated teachers, as will be seen in Chapter Five, varied from area to area. Moreover, there was a gender issue in that pupil teachers had to be of the same sex as the supervising teacher. However, male teachers could oversee female pupil teachers if there was a female available to act as chaperone. Logically therefore, the number of qualified female teachers in an area affected the prospects for a girl wishing to become a pupil teacher. In Loth, Kildonan and Clyne the smaller single-teacher schools were too small to warrant a pupil teacher. Anderson points out that the pupil teacher system was weak in the

³⁶⁸ 1881 census *Govan*; ED: 34; Page: 1; Line: 5; Roll: *cssct1881_256*.

³⁶⁹ 1891 census *Glasgow Govan*; ED: 7; Page: 21; Line: 10; Roll: *CSSCT1891_290*; 1881 census *Glasgow Hutchesontown*; ED: 12; Page: 16; Line: 10; Roll: *cssct1881_242*.

³⁷⁰ *Govan Church*; ED: 7; Page: 5; Line: 4; Roll: *cssct1881_254*; *Glasgow Barony*; ED: 2; Page: 25; Line: 4; Roll: *CSSCT1891_274*.

³⁷¹ 1891 census *Edinburgh St Cuthberts*; ED: 109; Page: 20; Line: 16; Roll: *CSSCT1891_339*; 1901 census

Highlands prior to 1872: 'It was difficult to attract qualified men to highland schools, and without them it was impossible to take pupil-teachers and attract an annual grant.'³⁷² This observation is not pertinent to the East Sutherland parishes, as schools which were large enough to employ a pupil teacher, in Brora and Helmsdale, did employ qualified men. However, as qualified female teachers were rare in these schools it was simpler to employ male pupil teachers, who did not require a chaperone. Moreover, in an area with poor employment prospects for boys, pupil teaching was an attractive option. In the census returns for Kildonan no girl was described as a pupil teacher, until crofter's daughter Donaldina (Dolina) McLeod in 1901.³⁷³ Dolina has already been mentioned as a monitoress in March 1899. In July 1899 she was appointed pupil teacher on a salary of £10 for the first year and £15 for the second.³⁷⁴ All those described as pupil teachers in census returns for Kildonan prior to 1899 were boys, ranging in age from 14 to 19.³⁷⁵ Additionally, one 20 year old male was described as an 'Ex-pupil teacher' and another 20 year old male as a 'Teacher- not employed'. One of the pupil teachers in 1884 was the son of a School Board member, but the small size of the parish probably made it difficult to avoid family connections. There are intermittent references to Christine McMillan, already mentioned above, whose late father had been a teacher. In 1884, Christina, aged 16 was 'appointed monitor until the Inspector's visit.'³⁷⁶ and in 1886 she was referred to as a pupil teacher.³⁷⁷ She went on to become a teacher. Barbara Gunn became a pupil teacher in Kildonan in 1897.³⁷⁸ As the Loth schools were single teacher schools, there were no pupil teachers of either sex. A search of the 1881 census has revealed only one pupil teacher in Clyne; crofter's son, John Bannerman³⁷⁹ but there were surely more. Also, by definition, pupil teachers ought not to have been aged above 18. John Bannerman was born on the 17 March 1860, and by the 4 April 1881, when the census was carried out; he would have been 21 (although his age is given as 20 on the census).

³⁷² Anderson, Robert D. *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918* Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 86.

³⁷³ *Kildonan*; ED: 2; Page: 10; Line: 13; Roll: *CSSCT1901_15*. Dolina was the daughter of a campaigner for crofter's rights, Heman McLeod.

³⁷⁴ Kildonan School Board Minutes CS 5/3/8/2 13 March 1900.

³⁷⁵ In 1861 - Alexander MacKay (18), Duncan Ross (18), Peter Sutherland (19), William Sutherland (18) 1871 - Hector Bruce,

³⁷⁶ Kildonan School Board Minutes CS/5/3/8/1, 16 Sept 1884.

³⁷⁷ Kildonan School Board Minutes CS/5/3/8/1, 22 June 1886.

³⁷⁸ Kildonan School Board Minutes CS/5/3/8/2, 31 Mar 1897.

³⁷⁹ *Clyne*; ED: 3; Page: 14; Line: 1; Roll: *cssct1881_12*.

A combination of factors, school size, lack of certificated teachers and gender of teachers, combined to make pupil teacherships for females very rare.

There were numerous schools in Aberdeen in which to obtain a post as pupil teacher, and girls outnumbered boys to a considerable extent. It would appear that boys became increasingly reluctant to take posts as pupil teachers and this helped create vacancies available to girls. In 1876 Aberdeen School Board decided that, owing to the ‘difficulty of procuring Male candidates’ they would increase the salary of male pupil teachers in an attempt to attract more boys, as, up until then ‘the salaries paid to pupil teachers are the same for both sexes, no alteration having been made by the Board on the scale that existed prior to the introduction of the Scotch code.’³⁸⁰ This increase in salary proved an insufficient incentive, and pupil teachers remained primarily female. In 1877, the School Board reduced the ration of teachers: pupil teachers from 1:4 to 1:3, but this appears to have increased the number of teachers employed, rather than decreasing the number of pupil teachers. One of the newly employed teachers was the uncertificated Isabella Burgess, who was employed as an ex-Pupil Teacher.³⁸¹ Burgess provides an interesting case study. Raised by a widowed mother and her maternal aunts, her father having been a merchant seaman, Burgess did not go to Teacher Training College, but self-studied for the LLA degree, a qualification which will be further discussed in a subsequent chapter. She then took teaching examinations and became a qualified teacher.³⁸² She was promoted to the post of Infant Mistress and ultimately became Aberdeen’s first female town councillor. She is a rare example of a socially upwardly mobile teacher, who did not attend Training College, but used her pupil teachership alone to gain initial access to the profession. Her later career will be examined in Chapter Six of this study.

By 1896 Aberdeen’s twenty five elementary schools employed 8 male pupil-teachers and 123 female pupil-teachers³⁸³ a much higher proportion of females than that

³⁸⁰ Aberdeen School Board minutes ED 1180/1/1, 10 February 1876.

³⁸¹ Aberdeen School Board minutes ED 1180/1/2, 8 Nov 1877.

³⁸² Aberdeen School Board Minutes ED 1180/1/ 3, 15 Dec 1879.

³⁸³ Aberdeen School Board Member’s Directory 1896/7

of Scotland as a whole. An examination of family background shows that these pupil teachers were almost entirely drawn from the working class and lower middle classes. Rarely did pupil teachers come from the strata below skilled working class; one example is that of Jane Munro, who was a 17 year old pupil teacher in 1851. The census stated that Munro's widowed mother 'makes bags for merchants', and they lived in North Broadford, an area declining into slum properties.³⁸⁴ It has not always been possible to identify a pupil teacher's identity sufficiently to identify parental occupation. However, most female pupil teachers identified came from the skilled working classes, with paternal occupations commonly found in four areas; occupations relating to Aberdeen's house building industry such as plumber or house carpenter; shipmasters; occupations connected to the granite industry such as granite dresser; and farmers. There was a clustering within families; Alexander Cook was a master carpenter, and four of his daughters were pupil teachers.³⁸⁵ His only son, however, became a doctor. Likewise, four Falconer sisters, whose father was a shipmaster, all became pupil teachers successively³⁸⁶ as did three Reith sisters, plus two of their cousins.³⁸⁷ Although pupil teachers were expected to work hard, schools took pride in them; the headmaster of Woodside School recorded in 1876 '27 Dec 1876. Miss Janet Shand, Assistant Mistress, leaves school today, to enter the Normal Training College. She entered as a scholar in 1861 in this school and after holding the first rank for ten years she became a pupil teacher in 1871. Having finished her apprenticeship in 1876 she became an assistant. Her whole career has been singularly successful deserving the highest commendation.' The obituary of Mrs Skea, headmistress of St Paul Street School noted that 'She was in the habit of meeting her pupil teachers at a quarter to eight every morning, summer and winter, during the school session, and teaching them for a hour....Although strict, Mrs Skea was also kind. She lightened their work in the afternoon by refreshing them with a

³⁸⁴ 1851 census *Old Machar*; ED: 1; Page: 35; Line: 2; Roll: *CSSCT1851_41*;

³⁸⁵ Alice, Elsie, Frances and Sylvia. See McCall, A.T. *Aberdeen School Board Female Teachers 1872-1901: a biographical list*. Aberdeen and North East Scotland Family History Society 2007, p. 12.

³⁸⁶ Mary, Margaret, Blanche and Elizabeth. See McCall, A.T. *Aberdeen School Board Female Teachers 1872-1901: a biographical list*. Aberdeen and North East Scotland Family History Society 2007, p. 21.

³⁸⁷ Anne, Jane and Mary, and Dorothy and Rachel. See McCall, A.T. *Aberdeen School Board Female Teachers 1872-1901: a biographical list*. Aberdeen and North East Scotland Family History Society 2007, p. 47.

cup of tea.’³⁸⁸ This gives an insight into the life of the pupil teacher, starting early in the morning, working all day, and then studying at night.

Edinburgh also had many schools in which girls could become pupil teachers. Edinburgh School Board created a four-year appointment, from the age of fourteen to eighteen. Of the areas under discussion, pupil teachers in Edinburgh were best paid. Male first year pupil teachers were paid £17 10s and female £12 10s, increasing by £2 10s each year. A bonus of £10 for males and £7 10s for females was paid to all those completing the four years, with a further bonus of £10 for any male going on to Teacher Training College or University and £7 10s to any female who was in the top 100 candidates for Training College.³⁸⁹ The majority of pupil teachers were female; in 1886 there were 153 female and 53 male pupil teachers.³⁹⁰ The School Board minutes list those gaining the bonuses. For example, in 1886, seven girls were within the top 100, including Irish-born Annie Arnott, whose father was a draper’s assistant, and Maria Ballantyne, whose father was a mechanic in a factory.³⁹¹ Martha Liddell’s father was a cabinet maker, but her elder brother was a University Medical student; she fits into a common pattern, that of the pupil teacher from a generally upwardly mobile family. Edinburgh School Board, therefore, employed pupil teachers from a range of working class and lower middle class backgrounds.

In the immediate wake of the 1872 Act, pupil teachers were one of the mainstays of education in Dundee, easily outnumbering the teachers. In 1879, for example, Dundee School Board employed 26 principal teachers, 25 assistants and 72 pupil teachers. This suggests that the pupil teachers carried a heavy teaching load, which probably impacted adversely on their own studies. The proportion decreased steadily; in 1880, Glebelands School was staffed with two headteachers, three assistants and ten pupil teachers.³⁹² By 1888 it had two headteachers, twelve assistants and six pupil teachers. The lack of male

³⁸⁸ *Aberdeen Daily Journal*, 8 Oct 1914.

³⁸⁹ Edinburgh School Board minutes SL28/2/2 13 Feb 1878, pp. 21-2.

³⁹⁰ Edinburgh School Board minutes SL 28/2/10, 15 Feb 1886, Appendix X, p. 74.

³⁹¹ *Edinburgh St Andrew*; ED: 66; Page: 9; Line: 13; Roll: *cssct1881_286*. She was a school teacher in 1891.

³⁹² Dundee Directory 1880-81, pp. 42-46.

employment in the jute industry meant that boys continued to seek posts as pupil teachers in Dundee. There were eighty pupil teachers in Dundee listed in the 1881 census, of which fifty were female and thirty male. Although girls outnumbered boys, the ratio was far smaller than in other parts of Scotland, where pupil teachers were overwhelmingly female. The 1871 census showed that in textile towns, such as Dundee and Paisley, where most child and youth employment was for girls, boys were more likely to stay on at school.³⁹³ One interesting aspect of the ratio is that it was skewed by the pupil teachers who came from the Irish community. Only one pupil teacher in 1881 was Irish born, but a further sixteen came from the Irish community (i.e. they were living with Irish born relatives). Of these, eleven were male and six female. There are several instances where it appears that the sons of the family were being given opportunities denied to their sisters; Patrick McCabe's mother was a widowed Irish born hessian weaver.³⁹⁴ His three sisters were all hessian weavers, but 17 year old Patrick was a pupil teacher. Similarly Robert Sharpe was a pupil teacher but his three sisters were all jute weavers.³⁹⁵ The sample is, however, too small to draw conclusions about family ethos. As in the rest of Scotland, the ratio became increasingly skewed towards female pupil teachers; in 1888, Dundee employed 85 female and 30 male pupil teachers, of whom 71 female and 29 male intended to go on to Teacher Training College.³⁹⁶ Another curious feature in Dundee is the age of some of those listed as pupil teachers; Agnes Robertson, Cecile Ross, Robert Millar, Bella Duff, Elspeth Moon and Alice Mills were all 19, and Cecile's elder sister Mary was 23. Cecile Ross was born 5 Sept 1861 and so was approaching twenty. These seven were all too old to be pupil teachers and it is not clear why they should be so listed; perhaps Dundee School Board, like Kildonan, Loth and Clyne School Boards, was more lax in its enforcement of the regulations? Cecile and Mary Ross were the daughters of an upwardly mobile brewer turned wine merchant, and the family lived comfortably, with one servant. Some pupil teachers had a family connection; Maggie Stewart was the niece of George Caird, head teacher at Hawkhill school³⁹⁷ and Jessie Fisher was the daughter of

³⁹³ McDermid, Jane, *The Schooling of Working-Class Girls in Victorian Scotland; Gender, education and identity*, Routledge, 2005., p. 2.

³⁹⁴ 1881 census 282-2 10 34.

³⁹⁵ 1881 census 282-2 22 28

³⁹⁶ Dundee School Board minutes 1888-89, p. 282.

³⁹⁷ 1881 census 282-1 4 32

Margaret Fisher, teacher.³⁹⁸ This, of course, was not peculiar to Dundee. There is little evidence of girls from families working in the jute mills becoming pupil teachers; fathers' occupations include iron turner,³⁹⁹ bootmaker cutter,⁴⁰⁰ school caretaker⁴⁰¹ and water inspector.⁴⁰² This is the type of family background found amongst pupil teachers in every urban area in Scotland; it is significant in Dundee because the large numbers employed in jute made this a relatively small section of the population.

As Govan School Board opened ever more schools and employed certificated teachers, pupil teacherships were readily available. The pay rate was set in 1873:

Table 3.3: Pupil teacher pay-rate in Govan in 1873.

Year	Male	Female
1 st	£12	£10
2nd	£14 10s	£12 10s
3rd	£17 10s	£15
4 th	£21	£17 10s
5 th	£25	£20

Source: Govan School Board minutes, D-ED1/4/1/1, 8 Dec 1873, p. 64.

Govan's most famous pupil teacher was John MacLean,⁴⁰³ employed at Polmadie School, and given every encouragement by Govan School Board to aim for University. I have not yet found evidence of any female pupil teacher being so encouraged. Again, in Govan, pupil teachers tended to be drawn from the skilled working classes with fathers' occupations including pattern designer,⁴⁰⁴ clerk,⁴⁰⁵ shoemaker⁴⁰⁶ and engineer.⁴⁰⁷

³⁹⁸ 1881 census 282-2 5A 46

³⁹⁹ Sarah Adamson Taylor, pupil teacher at Balfour Street School.

⁴⁰⁰ Mary Ann Dick.

⁴⁰¹ Jane R Robertson, pupil teacher at Glebelands School.

⁴⁰² Amelia Menzies, pupil teacher at Clepington School.

⁴⁰³ John McHugh, 'Maclean, John (1879–1923)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, Jan 2011 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/37721>, accessed 2 Jan 2013]

⁴⁰⁴ Marion Bonar .

⁴⁰⁵ Jane Gibb. She became a school teacher, and was still a teacher in the 1901 census.

⁴⁰⁶ Margaret Ogilvie.

However, girls from poorer backgrounds also gained posts; Agnes Cameron's mother was a widowed shirt maker.⁴⁰⁸ So, in Govan, pupil teachers came from the same social background as those in Aberdeen, Dundee and Edinburgh.

Govan showed commitment to the education of their pupil teachers soon after the School Board took over. In the winter of 1875/6 a series of Saturday classes in music was held. These classes cost 2s 6d, but this charge was waived for pupil teachers and monitors.⁴⁰⁹ These proved very successful, with 37 pupil teachers gaining elementary, and 30 gaining intermediate certificates. The School Board also noted that 14 pupil had gained various drawing certificates.⁴¹⁰ These classes were repeated during the following two winters, with a high level of attendance by 'attentive and respectful'⁴¹¹ pupil teachers.⁴¹² The School Board noted that such classes would help prepare pupil teachers for the Entrance Examination to Normal College.⁴¹³

Conclusion

The evidence shows that girls from working class and lower middle class families could access posts as pupil teachers, thus allowing them to step up the first rung on the ladder of opportunity towards a career in teaching. These opportunities increased as the century progressed, firstly because of the overall expansion of the teaching profession and secondly because of the increasing proportion of women within that profession. As more certificated female teachers entered the classrooms, the difficulty faced by girls who could not train under a male teacher without a woman to act as chaperone decreased. Whilst rural areas which had small schools with predominantly male teachers, such as those in Helmsdale and Brora continued to offer posts primarily to boys, girls in urban areas such as Aberdeen, Dundee, Govan and Edinburgh provided places for dozens of

⁴⁰⁷ Elizabeth Roy.

⁴⁰⁸ *Glasgow Govan*; ED: 60; Page: 16; Line: 6; Roll: CSSCT1861_112.

⁴⁰⁹ Govan School Board minutes, D-ED1/4/1/2, 13 Dec 1875, p. 104.

⁴¹⁰ Govan School Board minutes, D-ED1/4/1/2, 12 June 1876, p. 169.

⁴¹¹ Govan School Board minutes, D-ED1/4/1/2, 9 April 1877, p. 292.

⁴¹² Govan School Board minutes, D-ED1/4/1/2, 11 Dec 1876, p. 235.

⁴¹³ Govan School Board minutes, D-ED1/4/1/2, 9 April 1877, p. 292.

girls each. There are examples of girls from unskilled and very poor backgrounds accessing pupil teacherships, but these were unusual. The quality of training offered varied from area to area, with Edinburgh investing heavily in its pupil teachers in terms of salaries and financial investments. Aberdeen had a well organised system of training. However, in Dundee, the variety of ages of pupil teachers suggests a more haphazard approach to training. Lastly, Govan School Board was creating a system of education *ab initio* in new schools as the population increased; this created posts for girls and a thought out system which did not have to accommodate earlier idiosyncrasies.

In conclusion, just as pupil teacherships formed a rung on the ladder of opportunity for the lad o' pairs, so in this chapter it has been shown that this rung also existed for the lass o' pairs. However, unlike the rural lad, encouraged by a university-educated male dominie, the lass o' pairs was more likely to be found in a newer school in an urban area, trained by the first or second generation of training-college educated female teachers. This suggests that the lass o' pairs was unlikely to ever have been a common feature of Scottish rural society; given that before and after the formation of state education in 1872, most rural parishes had only one school with only one teacher who was almost always male, thereby making it virtually impossible for pupil teachers to be female in most cases. Therefore, it seems reasonable to suggest that the lass o' pairs was not a system that evolved from the rural lad o' pairs of the parish school system; rather it was something urban and predominantly new to the second half of the nineteenth century. Census returns suggest that some girls could and did stay on at school well into their teens, and for those who had posts as either a monitor or pupil teacher, salaries, varying between different areas, were paid. The pupil teacher system was the start of a clearly defined route into the teaching profession; I will examine the next step on this route in the following chapter; the progression to Teacher Training College.

Chapter Four

Teacher Training

Introduction

In the preceding chapter, I examined the availability of post-elementary education for girls in mid to late Victorian Scotland, in order to identify girls who came from the same social background as the ‘lad o’ pairs’ i.e. girls from the working and lower middle classes. During the period 1846-1901, many thousands of girls gained a post-elementary education through the pupil teacher system, which enabled girls to earn a small wage while combining assisting in a school, with further study.⁴¹⁴ At the end of a pupil teachership, boys and girls were eligible to compete for a bursary to Normal College, or Teacher Training College, the former term being replaced by the latter as the century progressed. In this chapter, I intend to examine the entrance examination and the nature and scope of teacher training in Victorian Scotland, and then focus on the availability and accessibility of the bursary exam and teacher training for girls from each of the five areas under examination.

Piecemeal innovatory teaching methods were being taught in Scotland in the very early nineteenth century. The development of the monitorial systems promulgated by Lancaster and Bell were described in the preceding chapter and the development of formal teaching training was a continuation and extension of those systems. David Stow⁴¹⁵ established a ‘model’ infant school in Glasgow in 1826. He responded to the interest shown in his methods by constructing a teacher training college at Dundas Vale in 1837, the first purpose-built teacher training college in Britain. Initially founded under the aegis of the Glasgow Educational Society, the college was transferred to the General Assembly of the Church of Scotland, and was partially supported by government grant from 1841 on. Stow believed that women were best suited to teach the youngest children.

⁴¹⁴ Several thousand pupil teachers sat the entrance examination for Teacher Training College, as listed in the *Educational News*.

⁴¹⁵ Elizabeth J. Morse, ‘Stow, David (1793–1864)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/26609>, accessed 21 Jan 2013]

This was based on the belief that children benefited from a teacher with a ‘maternal’ approach initially. Whilst Stow’s view was based on women’s domestic role, this nevertheless created a paid professional occupation for some women outwith the home, and meant that women, as well as men, were to be trained as teachers. Stow left the Established church during the 1843 Disruption.⁴¹⁶ Dundas Vale remained the property of the Church of Scotland, and the Free Church founded a second training college at Cowcaddens, under Stow.



*Stow College From Sketch of the History of Glasgow, by James Pagan, Glasgow 1847.*⁴¹⁷

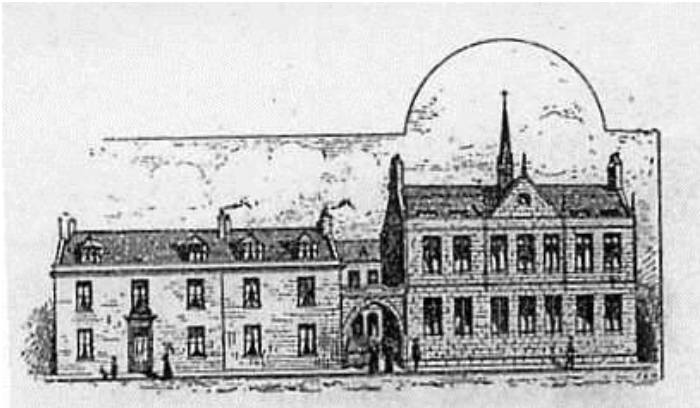
In Edinburgh the Church of Scotland opened a Normal College, which, as in Glasgow, was badly affected by the Disruption; whilst the building remained with the Church of Scotland, the majority of staff and pupils left. The church however expanded its provision by building a new school in Johnston Terrace in 1845. The Free Church bought Moray House in 1846, extended it and opened it as the Free Church Normal College and Sessional school in 1848. Within the space of little over a decade, Scotland had gone from having one experimental training college, to four, housed in substantial

⁴¹⁶ The Disruption was a schism which split the Church of Scotland in 1843.

⁴¹⁷ ©Glasgow City Libraries. Licensors www.scran.ac.uk.

buildings. These four, together with a small Episcopalian training college in Edinburgh, trained Scotland's teachers for the following twenty four years. When the Education

(Scotland) Act 1872 removed education from church control, it left teacher training to be carried out by the churches. The expansion of education resulting from the 1872 Act meant an increase in the demand for trained teachers and the colleges expanded. In February 1874, the Church of Scotland opened a female only Teacher Training College in Aberdeen, with thirty students. The Aberdeen *Free Press* remarked that 'the demand for teachers is, and for some time will continue to be, very great.'⁴¹⁸ It was followed a year later by a college run by the Free Church, which was also female only. Both Aberdeen colleges became mixed-sex in the 1880s⁴¹⁹, although male students were always in the minority. Dowanhill Roman Catholic Teacher Training College was opened in 1895.⁴²⁰ Dundee teacher training college was opened in 1906, and therefore falls outwith the scope of this thesis.⁴²¹



*Church of Scotland Teacher Training College, Aberdeen*⁴²²

What impact did the possibility of formal teacher training have on women? At the 1896 E.I.S. Congress, Mrs Skea, headmistress of St. Paul Street School, Aberdeen, spoke on 'The Status of Women in Teaching.' She claimed that the;

⁴¹⁸ *Aberdeen Free Press* 7 Feb 1874.

⁴¹⁹ Men were admitted to the Church of Scotland Training College in 1887.

⁴²⁰ See Chapter Seven of this thesis.

⁴²¹ Delaney, Elaine, "Women Teachers and Education in Dundee between 1872 and 1914", Unpublished M.Litt dissertation, University of Dundee.

⁴²² *Official Guide and Programme; Congress of the Educational Institute of Aberdeen 1896*, p. 25.

thirty years that succeeded the establishment of Normal Schools saw a marked advance in the spread of education, and a great career opened up for women – led them to be both independent and influential members of society.⁴²³

She also commented that;

she had no doubt the women who first entered upon training for teachers were stigmatised as ‘new women’ quite as freely as were the medical ladies of the sixties and seventies, or the emancipated daughters of our own day. But character would assert itself, and no amount of ridicule or contemptuous depreciation would hinder or check the advancement of women, which would go on as surely as the march of civilisation itself.⁴²⁴

Mrs Skea attended Normal College in the 1860s, but knew teachers who had attended earlier, and so her remark was based on personal knowledge. Initially, students spent a year at college, but this was extended to two years in 1858. Thereafter they had to spend two years teaching under supervision before gaining their teaching certificate or ‘parchment’ as it was colloquially known. A further development was the creation, in 1895 of Queen’s Scholars, allowing those with bursaries to training college to also attend classes at University.

Anderson makes a point about the universities as a route to social mobility, observing that ‘even though Playfair’s claim that there were 500 working men or sons of working men in the Universities was probably correct, they have to be set against an elementary school population of half a million. The channels of mobility remained narrow, and were far more open to artisans and skilled workers than to the really poor.’⁴²⁵ Of course, the elementary school population included girls, who were unable to attend University, and so the figure from which these claimed 500 was drawn was much smaller

⁴²³ *Aberdeen Journal* 31 Dec 1896, p. 6.

⁴²⁴ *Aberdeen Journal* 31 Dec 1896, p. 6.

⁴²⁵ Anderson, R.D. *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918* Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 154.

than half a million. How did the composition of the training colleges compare? In the case of girls attending college, the vast majority came from an artisan and skilled worker background; there were very few from the middle classes. Numerically, these 500 working class university students may be compared to the 503 students at training college in 1870, of whom 59 per cent were female.⁴²⁶ It is not an exact comparison, as the training colleges ran two-year courses, whilst University courses were longer; in any single year cohort, there would be more working class people at training college than University. By 1880, with a general expansion, plus the opening of the new colleges in Aberdeen, there were 892 training college students, of whom 63 % were female.⁴²⁷ By 1899 there were 1112 students, of whom 72% were female including 65 Queen's Students who were also attending University classes, of whom 42% were female.⁴²⁸ If 500 'poor' University students were sufficient to base a belief in Scotland's meritocratic 'ladder of opportunity' then the training college students, an increasing majority of whom were female, are numerically comparable. It is not difficult to see the training colleges as a lesser, but achievable route of upward social mobility for girls; for the 'lass o' pairs.' Anderson also notes that 'the openness of the universities was genuine, and was sustained by their relatively low fees and modest life-style, the absence of an entrance examination, and the existence of numerous bursaries.'⁴²⁹ Women (and men) did face an entrance examination to teacher training college, but costs were likewise modest and bursaries available and well regulated.

The Colleges taught both male and female students, but they followed different syllabuses, as needlework was compulsory for female students and many male students opted to take Latin. A report of the Glasgow Church of Scotland Normal College in 1860 noted that they had had 58 male and 59 female students in the preceding year and that all the female students were taught needlework, knitting and the theory of domestic economy. There was;

⁴²⁶ Anderson, R.D. *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918* Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 177.

⁴²⁷ Anderson, R.D. *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918* Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 177.

⁴²⁸ Anderson, R.D. *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918* Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 177.

⁴²⁹ Anderson, R.D. *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918* Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 154.

no opportunity of seeing or of doing household work...[but]...at the same time it is proper to be borne in mind, that the schoolmistress will give her book lessons all the better with the benefit of any practical knowledge ...which she may herself possess, and in that view, some addition may yet be made to the training provisions at the Normal School.⁴³⁰

This suggests that, in Glasgow at least, there was a movement towards more non-academic subjects for female students, whereas male students had an entirely academic curriculum.

Men could, of course, also go to University, and enter teaching as a graduate. This was not open to women, but the position of the education available to future female teachers was debated as part of the larger debate surrounding the campaign for the admission of women to the Scottish universities. In 1874, the *Aberdeen Free Press* carried an article on the forthcoming Cowper-Temple Universities (Scotland) Bill. The article was unequivocally in favour of the admission of women to Universities, stating that it was;

on the face of it, a very reasonable demand, namely that the Universities, as national institutions, should be open to the whole nation, instead of having their doors closed against one half of it....The removal of this disability (of sex) is itself an end worth striving after. It is a barrier imposed by custom, and is either useless or harmful. Women either would not avail themselves of a University education even were the restriction removed; or they would so avail themselves, and are at present the victims of an unjust deprivation.

Interestingly, the article then went on to discuss the situation of teachers in particular;

It may not unreasonably be asked why, if the professions generally are to continue arbitrarily closed against women, the principle should not be consistently carried out

⁴³⁰ *Glasgow Herald* 22 May 1861.

by preventing them from teaching in the public schools. Such a proposal could not be for a moment entertained, for women are often the most successful teachers and the demand for their services in this capacity is increasing rather than diminishing.

It then went on to discuss the proposals for Chairs of Teaching to be established at Edinburgh, St Andrews and Aberdeen Universities.

The question at once suggests itself, whether these new University classes, and the labours of the Professors of Teaching are to be devoted solely to the preparation of male students for taking their place in the teaching profession. If so a new disability will be placed on women from which they are at present exempt; a new restriction to their disadvantage and in favour of the other sex will be imposed; for in the Normal Schools or Training Colleges male and female students are placed on a footing of equality as regards tuition and examinations....An objection, partly, as we understand it, to mixed education, and partly to the higher education of women under any conditions, has lately been started. It is said that for physiological reasons women are not fitted to take their place in the intellectual race with men.

It is interesting that this is regarded as a 'new' idea, recently promulgated. There is no suggestion that women were always regarded as intellectually inferior. The unnamed writer then proceeds to debunk this idea;

It may be true that some women have injured themselves by over-study, and so also have many men. But large numbers of women have also been injured by excessive devotion to other occupations than the acquirement of the higher education;- needlework, for instance, but one does not often hear this fact adduced as an argument against a moderate amount of exertion in that branch of industry.⁴³¹

⁴³¹ *Aberdeen Free Press* 23 Apr 1874.

Isabella Chalmers (later Mrs Skea) also used the example of teachers to argue for university education for women. Addressing the monthly meeting of Aberdeen E.I.S. she pointed out that;

In physical food there is no difference between the sexes, therefore there should be no distinction in intellectual food. If there is no lightening of our labour in school, there should be no narrowing of the course of preparation for such labour. If females are intellectually deficient, the more need to educate them to a proper level before you place such an important office as that of teacher in their hands. ...A subject of pre eminent importance to every one who has charge of the young should be physiology and the laws of health. In these days of test and cram it is fearful to think of the mischief we may be ignorantly entailing on those fragile little bodies entrusted to our care by protracted mental strain and cramped bodily positions.⁴³²

She then argued that physiology should not be taught in the Normal Schools because ‘the Normal schools have neither the professors nor the apparatus necessary for the intelligent teaching of physiology. To teach physiology without perfect models and free access to an anatomical museum would be ..valueless.’⁴³³ However, on other occasions she argued for University education simply for the sake of increased professional status: in 1896 she argued for the creation of a three year University education degree quite as difficult as an M.A.

I do not know if my sisters in the profession who toil cheerfully for £60 or £70 a year know what valuable prizes lie within the reach of fortunate possessors of a University certificate. Let me enumerate a few out of many. The mistress of Gateshead High School has £250 per annum...⁴³⁴

The training of female teachers, therefore, was debated in the context of the benefit of University education; teachers were amongst the forefront of the demand for university

⁴³² *Aberdeen Daily Free Press*, 10 Oct 1881

⁴³³ *Aberdeen Daily Free Press*, 10 Oct 1881.

⁴³⁴ *Aberdeen Daily Free Press*, 10 Oct 1881.

education, arguing from a position of strength as a profession already benefitting from structured training in the colleges.

College life

One student at the Edinburgh Church of Scotland Normal College in 1872 was Elizabeth Lipp⁴³⁵ of Fochabers. Her biography describes her as ‘reputedly the first girl from the North East of Scotland to qualify as a trained, certificated teacher’ This is, of course, not the case at all; she may have been the first girl from Fochabers to qualify as a trained, certificated teacher but girls from the north east of Scotland had been travelling down to college in Edinburgh for nearly twenty years before her; and dozens had already become certificated teachers. The author, John Hardie was Principal of the College of Education in Aberdeen, and thereafter Depute-Director of Education, Edinburgh. Whilst there is no reason that knowledge of Victorian education should have been a pre-requisite for either post, it signifies how completely a generation of female Victorian teachers had been forgotten and neglected by historians, that it was possible to write a book on Elizabeth Lipp, under the impression that she was ‘the first.’ However, her biography has considerable value as it includes Lipp’s reports on her observations of the schools attached to the Normal College. The curriculum laid heavy stress on Bible Knowledge, with lessons also in English Reading, with Etymology and Analysis of sentences and Advanced Geography including the use of the Globes. Her report on Infant School starts ‘It is customary for the Senior students attending the Church of Scotland Training College, Edinburgh, to visit for a week the (Infant School attached to the College) for the purpose of getting better insight into the work.’ It is divided into five sections; General Arrangements, Order of School work, Registers, How Teacher Combines Teaching and Superintendence, and Special Preparation for Standards. The Report on the Junior School ran along similar lines. Her reports were thorough, covering distribution of slates, choice of songs and insights into techniques, for example ‘To prevent the pupils from feeling

⁴³⁵ Elizabeth Lipp 1854 – 1951. Her father was the innkeeper of the Red Lion, Fochabers.

nervous and excited when the inspector comes, they have to pass a formal examination in reading every week.’⁴³⁶

Elizabeth Lipp’s college work provides an outline of the subjects taught; the surviving, but unpublished, diary of Marian Henderson⁴³⁷, a student at Aberdeen Church of Scotland Training college, gives an insight into the whole experience of being a college student, living in a boarding house with other students. Her diary records hard work and frequent exams, but also mischief-making and larks, young men whistling outside the female accommodation, holly sprigs in bed, the constant effort to defeat ‘lights out’ with forbidden candles, midnight feasts, singing, dancing and general high spirits. It was custom for any student gaining a job to treat the others to sponge cake, which gave a celebratory feel to news of a fellow student’s success. The entry for Friday, 18 October 1889 gives a flavour;

Lazy – rose at quarter past seven. We are to get freehand now the geometry is over. Today, Dr Kerr heard the criticism lesson. Mr Dean did it and it was excellently done. Oh! Such a beautiful speaker he is. His lesson was on ‘Money’. Mr Williams, P.J.⁴³⁸ were in. Mr W. spoke very nicely. Mr Brown⁴³⁹ in the Senior class criticised also Frank Robb. Were in the Infant room today at Sewing. We get week about of the Standards. Last week I taught rounded end of buttonhole to Standard V. This Afternoon had French and Singing as usual.

In the evening went out with Janet Bremner⁴⁴⁰ and Mary, but disappointed for we met no-one we know.

Danced a little in the evening. Went upstairs but soon we heard a low gentle whistle. I went to take down Janet Duffus⁴⁴¹ blinds and saw two fellows outside gazing eagerly upwards. Then Madge and Jeannie Thomson⁴⁴² came thro and mounted the window. In

⁴³⁶ Hardie John L. *Scottish Aspects of Child Education a Century Ago: Elizabeth Lipp* Aberdeen 1979.

⁴³⁷ Marian Morris Henderson. Born 1869. Pupil Teacher at Keith, Banffshire. Her father was a railway engine driver.

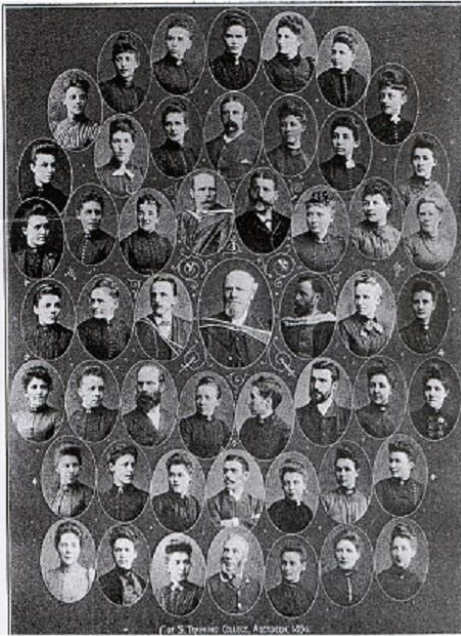
⁴³⁸ P.J. was P.J. Anderson, lecturer and subsequently Kings College librarian.

⁴³⁹ David Brown.

⁴⁴⁰ Janet Ann Bremner. Her father was a court house keeper. Janet was the top student in the year. Janet’s elder sister, Isabella, attended the college three years earlier.

⁴⁴¹ Farmer’s daughter Jessie Duffus was the 9th of 12 children.

a few minutes we hear Miss V.⁴⁴³ One rush to our bedrooms – candle out in a second- and there we are in bed, dresses on, smothering with laughter. It was indeed Miss Vollar. She said ‘Is that you, Miss Duffus, who had got a light? Get into bed directly. You are attracting attention from the outside.’ We waited a few minutes then we counted 1,2,3, both gave a tremendous laugh and our match was lit. We worked at algebra. Went to bed at 12p.m.⁴⁴⁴



Class photograph Church of Scotland Teacher Training College 1890.⁴⁴⁵ Although the individual women cannot be identified, this class included Marian Henderson, Janet Bremner, Jessie Duffus, Jeannie Thomson and the ‘Mary’ and ‘Madge’ (who could one of several Marys and Margarets) referred to in the diary extract. The centre photograph is of Joseph Ogilvie, college principal.

⁴⁴² Jane Thomson . Schoolmaster’s daughter from Turriff.

⁴⁴³ Mary Ann Vollar, born 1843. Her father, John Vollar, was a shipmaster. She taught in Chesterfield and subsequently at the Church of Scotland Teacher Training College, Aberdeen from 1877-1892.

⁴⁴⁴ Transcription of the diary of Marian M. Henderson by her granddaughter , the late Sheila Valter. Copy of the transcription in the possession of Alison McCall.

⁴⁴⁵ *Aberdeen Church of Scotland Training College Appendix to Class Records from 1874-75to 1894-95*, Albany Press, Aberdeen, 1907, facing p. 30.

A vivid description of the family background of one teacher can be found in the edited letters of Isabella Grant Morrice.⁴⁴⁶ Her father was a shoemaker, and she described her family ethos as ‘bare living, high thinking’, poor but proud and deeply religious. Isabella followed her maternal aunt into teaching. Slightly after the period of this thesis, in 1904, one student at the Free Church College, Aberdeen, writing under the pseudonym ‘Junior’ commented;

To those of us at least who know the hardships of pupil teaching, College life is a paradise. The pupil teacher commences her day at 8a.m. and finishes at 5 or 5.30 p.m. and moreover has to do a certain amount of ‘grinding’ in the evening...At College, however, things are ordered differently – our whole energy can (if we like) be given to our own advancement.⁴⁴⁷

This observation is likely to have been equally true in the preceding years. These extracts give an indication of the attraction of college life; despite the hard work and frequent examinations, there was a certain freedom, companionship and joie de vivre to be found. Girls competing for the entrance examination, particularly those many girls following an older sister or cousin, may have thrilled to the prospect of life away from home and a certain amount of independence. It is easy to overlook this aspect of life, especially given the surviving photographs of unsmiling, tightly-laced students, their hair swept into severe buns. A desire to become a attend college and qualify as a teacher might not be wholly attributable to the Presbyterian work ethic.

Entrance Examination

How then, did girls gain a college place? There was one centralised Scottish examination for all of the colleges, but girls indicated which training college they hoped to attend. The vast majority of those who sat this exam were girls who had completed their pupil teachership. It was possible for girls who had not been pupil teachers to sit,

⁴⁴⁶ Isabella Grant Morrice (1888-1963) see McLean, Colin (ed) *Your Father and I; Isabella G MacLean*, Tuckwell Press, 1998.

⁴⁴⁷ *Normal Echoes* Vol 1, No. 2, Nov 1904, p. 2. Aberdeen University Special Collections.

but their pass rate was significantly lower. By the end of the century, approximately a thousand girls sat this exam each year. For example, in Midsummer 1894, 249 men and 1018 women sat the exam, of whom 189 men and 821 women passed.⁴⁴⁸ The names of those who passed were listed in the *Educational News*; the journal of the Educational Institute for Scotland. This is an invaluable resource. The names are listed in order of mark, followed by the name of the school at which they taught as a pupil teacher, and the name of the training college they hoped to attend. Most of those on the list are identifiable through the decennial census returns.⁴⁴⁹ Non pupil teachers appear in the list in italics, with only name and intended training college, but very few non pupil teachers scored highly. Those who failed to secure a place one year could try again the following year, and so there is some duplication of names between lists. (I do not know if a third attempt was either permissible, or ever happened.) In Appendix One I have broken down the results of one year, 1894, to show the spread of results over the whole of Scotland. I have listed each school which put forward one of the 821 candidates who obtained a passmark, grouped into areas, with the placing of each student in the school in brackets (examinees who obtained the same mark will have the same place number). The first observation is the extent to which all areas of Scotland supplied candidates, with the sole exception of Sutherland. Shetland had two, the Western Isles four and Orkney twelve. The second is the number of schools listed; there are hundreds of schools represented, many of which supplied a single candidate. Few supplied more than two. Overnewton School, Glasgow, had an exceptional seven entrants, and several other city schools five or six, but the typical examinee was a girl who had been the sole pupil teacher of her year, from a school in a town, who would have had to leave home to attend college. The spread of the schools indicates that the college entrance exam would have excited interest in all parts of Scotland, not just for the girl herself, but her immediate family, teachers, classmates, the younger children whom she had taught as a pupil teacher, and neighbours. I would argue that the sheer numbers of working- and lower-middle class girls competing for a college place would have made this as of as much interest as the working- and lower-middle class 'lad o' pairts' competing to enter University, especially as the

⁴⁴⁸ *Educational News*, 29 Sept 1894, pp. 639-643.

⁴⁴⁹ However, very common names such as Margaret Anderson or Jane Smith in a large town or city may prove too difficult to identify conclusively.

numbers of such boys achieving a place at University was smaller than the numbers entering teacher training.

How varied was the accessibility of the entrance examination and the success rate between the five areas studied? I have created two tables, Table 4.1 and Table 4.2, showing relative results and will then look at each area individually. The names of non-pupil teachers were printed in italics, and, as their home town was not given, I have ignored them in compiling the tables.

Table 4.1 Top 100 female candidates in the Entrance examination for Teacher Training College.

	Sutherland	Aberdeen	Dundee	Govan	Edinburgh
1892	0	13	7	4	10
1894	0	17	4	9	11
1895	0	17	4	6	5
1897	0	12	5	7	5
1899	0	11	6	8	4
1900	0	20	5	8	2
1901	0	17	4	10	7
Total	0	107	35	52	44

Source: Educational News 1894, p. 639

Table 4.1 shows the number of girls from each of the case studies in this thesis, who passed in the top 100 in various years between 1892 and 1901. It is startlingly obvious that not only did no girl from the parishes of Kildonan, Loth and Clyne pass in the top one hundred in any of the years examined, but no girls from anywhere in the county of Sutherland did so. William Sutherland, Kildonan Parochial School passed an exam for teacher training in 1862⁴⁵⁰ and Angus Sutherland also attended Teacher Training College in the 1860s, but I have found no instances of women gaining a bursary to do so, prior to 1898. As already observed in 1894 there was not a single female from Sutherland

⁴⁵⁰ *Dundee Courier*, 27 Jan 1862.

amongst the 821 who passed the Midsummer examination. This was not entirely due to the remoteness of the area as nine from Caithness and four from the Western Isles passed. However, as was seen in section three, pupil teaching remained a male preserve in Sutherland long after the numbers of male pupil teachers had declined elsewhere. If pupil teacherships were not available to girls in Sutherland, a place in a teacher training college at age 18 was effectively ruled out. It can be seen that Dundee fared poorly in producing high-achieving candidates, trailing behind both Govan and Edinburgh, and far behind Aberdeen. Bursaries were available, but only the high achievers could hope to attain them. The low rate of girls successfully passing the entrance examination may be ascribed to three factors. Firstly, the poor standard of teaching at many Dundee elementary schools reduced the chance of girls passing well. Secondly, failing to gain a place in Training College did not preclude a young woman from a career, albeit a low paid career, in teaching, as ex-PT posts were readily available in Dundee. (In 1890, Dundee School Board employed one hundred female certificated teachers, and 49 female ex-PTs.)⁴⁵¹ Thirdly, the additional inconvenience and cost of living away from home whilst attending college may have proved a disincentive. It may be more surprising that Edinburgh produced so few top candidates. Given the generous provision of grants for successful pupil teachers, and the easy access to two teacher training colleges, it might be assumed that Edinburgh was uniquely placed to dominate the provision of student teachers. This did not happen. I will speculate further on the reasons for this subsequently. Govan, although producing only half as many top-100 successes as Aberdeen, nevertheless outperformed both Edinburgh, Dundee and, unsurprisingly, east Sutherland. This may be due to the quality of training provided for pupil teachers.

The top 500 tells a slightly different story; whereas three times as many girls from Aberdeen than Dundee were in the top 100, there are less than double the number in the top 500. Likewise the gap between Dundee and Govan is narrower, but the gap between Dundee and Edinburgh is wider. The results can be summarised; a girl from Sutherland had no chance of entering teaching training college with a bursary– year after year, none came in the top 500, let alone top 100.

⁴⁵¹ Dundee School Board minutes April 1889-April 1890, p. 282.

Table 4.2. Top 500 female candidates in Entrance examination for Teacher Training College.

	Sutherland	Aberdeen	Dundee	Govan	Edinburgh
1892	0	33	25	21	31
1894	0	38	19	27	30
1895	0	41	13	21	20
1897	0	51	18	27	34
1899	0	31	27	20	25
1900	0	47	28	35	27
1901	0	32	33	47	47
Total	0	273	163	198	214

Source: Educational News 1894, pp. 639-641.

Aberdeen and Govan both punched above their weight in terms of high-achieving candidates; Dundee and Edinburgh produced more mediocre candidates. Far more girls from Aberdeen took places in the top 500 than from anywhere else, and the proportion from Aberdeen in the top 100 was even more marked. One feature is that the vast majority of girls from Aberdeen had been educated under the School Board; although there were a few from St Andrews Episcopal School, which remained outwith the Board's control. Possibly, in Aberdeen, attending teacher training college had become 'normalised' – most girls attended a Board school, most of the teachers in the Board Schools had attended college, Aberdeen had two teacher training colleges, both near the centre of Aberdeen. In Dundee, though, there were more girls from non-School Board Schools, such as St Salvador's Episcopal and St. John's Episcopal schools. Episcopalian schools could produce good candidates but these were the exception.

I will now explore the background of most successful candidates from each area in turn, to attempt to discover whether there were any factors peculiar to each area.

Sutherland

As already stated, there were no girls from east Sutherland in Tables 4.1 and 4.2. Some girls did attend Normal College, and it must be assumed that these were fee-paying girls. Jessie Forbes, the daughter of the Free Church minister at Dornoch, for example, attended Moray House in 1871. Christina Gow, of Clyne Public School, won a local bursary (as opposed to sitting the bursary exam) in 1898⁴⁵² Christina Gow was the sixth of seven children of John Gow, railway surfaceman, and Annie MacKay. By 1901 she was a teacher. Her elder brother John and younger brother George were both labourers in 1901.⁴⁵³ Alexandrina MacKay, Lairg, received a local bursary to attend Aberdeen Free Church Training College in 1901.⁴⁵⁴

Aberdeen

Despite having no training college until 1873, girls from Aberdeen attended the training colleges in Edinburgh (I have found no evidence so far of any attending one of the Glasgow training colleges.) Isabella Thomson Robertson, a crofter's daughter from Ellon, Aberdeenshire, who was born in 1823, initially worked as a domestic servant⁴⁵⁵ and thereafter kept house for her teacher brother, William, in Aberdeen. It is likely that she also taught sewing. She then trained in Edinburgh and returned to Aberdeen. However, her marriage in 1857 to John Sim ended her teaching career.⁴⁵⁶ Robertson's brother taught Isabella Chalmers (later Mrs Skea) at Whitestripes School. William Robertson may have used his sister as a role model to encourage Chalmers to consider training college. Another early woman from Aberdeenshire to attend the Edinburgh

⁴⁵² Glasgow Herald 2 Aug 1898. Highland Trust Bursaries were offered by the Governors of the Trust for Education in the Highlands and Islands of Scotland, for students from Caithness and Sutherland.

⁴⁵³ *Clyne*; ED: 2; Page: 15; Line: 3; Roll: *CSSCT1901_13*.

⁴⁵⁴ Clyne School Board minutes CS/5/3/2/4

⁴⁵⁵ 1841 census. Domestic servant to Warrack family. *Ellon*; ED: 10; Page: 5; Line: 1350; Year: 1841.

⁴⁵⁶ Her eldest son, Thomas Robertson Sim, became a noted botanist. I expected him to have a ODB entry, but he hasn't. http://en.wikipedia.org/wiki/Thomas_Robertson_Sim

Normal School was Agnes Webster,⁴⁵⁷ a farmers daughter from Rothiemay, who taught at the Forglen Parish Girls School before going to Edinburgh around 1850. Once qualified she taught at the West Parish School in Aberdeen from 1852 until her retirement in 1885,⁴⁵⁸ and thus provided a role model for girls from Aberdeen. By the 1860s, a steady stream of girls were heading south to train; Isabella L. Chalmers (later Mrs Skea) in the early 1860s, Elizabeth Hay⁴⁵⁹ and Mary Cadenhead in 1861,⁴⁶⁰ Jane Hunter, Mary Merson, Catherine Ogg, Jane Ogg and Maria Scott Moir in 1865.⁴⁶¹ Girls continued to go to Edinburgh in the early 1870s, immediately prior to the Aberdeen colleges opening in 1873 and 1874. Mary Stuart went in 1870,⁴⁶² and Catherine Ogg's younger sister, Alexandrina,⁴⁶³ Louisa Ross, Rachel Soutar and Sarah Ogilvie in 1871.⁴⁶⁴

An examination of the highest placed student from Aberdeen in various years gives an impression of their social background. In 1894, Annie M Hunter came third in Scotland. Annie Hunter benefitted from the experience of an older sister in teaching.⁴⁶⁵ Their father was an upholsterer.⁴⁶⁶ The second highest placed from Aberdeen, coming eleventh overall was Rachel Annand, later to make her mark as a poet.⁴⁶⁷ In 1895 Margaret (Madge) Webster came third in Scotland, and also won a prize from the Royal Geographical Society. Her background was comfortable; her father was a granite merchant, although the family were not wealthy enough to employ a live-in servant.⁴⁶⁸

⁴⁵⁷ McCall, A.T. *Aberdeen School Board Female Teachers 1872-1901: a biographical list*, Aberdeen & North East Scotland Family History Society, Dyce, 2007, p. 60.

⁴⁵⁸ Her retirement was reported in the *Aberdeen Journal*, 12 January 1885.

⁴⁵⁹ Subsequently head teacher at John Knox school, Aberdeen. McCall, A.T. *Aberdeen School Board Female Teachers 1872-1901: a biographical list*, Aberdeen & North East Scotland Family History Society, Dyce, 2007, p. 27. See also *Aberdeen Journal* 18 Mar 186.

⁴⁶⁰ 1861 census *Edinburgh Buccleuch*; ED: 72; Page: 12; Line: 10; Roll: CSSCT1861_128.

⁴⁶¹ *Aberdeen Journal*, 1 Feb 1865.

⁴⁶² *Aberdeen Journal*, 2 Feb 1870.

⁴⁶³ Catherine and Alexandrina Ogg's father was a land surveyor which would have located them in the middle classes. However, he had died prior to the 1871 census, so they appear to be another example of girls raised by a widowed mother.

⁴⁶⁴ *Aberdeen Journal*, 25 Jan 1871

⁴⁶⁵ Isabella S Hunter. See McCall, Alison T. *Aberdeen School Board Female Teachers 1872-1901* Aberdeen & North East Scotland Family History Society 2007, p. 29.

⁴⁶⁶ 1901 census *Aberdeen Holburn*; ED: 32; Page: 34; Line: 11; Roll: CSSCT1901_58.

⁴⁶⁷ B. Dickson, 'Taylor, Rachel Annand (1876-1960)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/60218>, accessed 28 Jan 2013]

⁴⁶⁸ 1881 census - *Old Machar*; ED: 17; Page: 15; Line: 11; Roll: CSSCT1881_53; 1891 census *Aberdeen Old Machar*; ED: 44; Page: 23; Line: 24; Roll: CSSCT1891_55.

By 1901 she was married to a schoolteacher and had a baby daughter.⁴⁶⁹ Webster presumably benefitted from those around her; she was a pupil teacher at the school attached to the Free Church training college and two of her fellow pupil teachers took 5th and 6th places in the entrance examination. Indeed, in 1895 five of the ten top placed were from Aberdeen. Webster's younger sister, Matilda, followed her into teaching. In 1899, Margaret R. Duthie took thirteenth place. Her father had been a baker's deliveryman, but had died prior to Margaret's tenth birthday and her widowed mother ran a hotel.⁴⁷⁰ In 1901 Lizzie R. Linklater came fourth in Scotland. She was a grocer's daughter, the third child in a family of ten. Her father had died prior to her sitting the entrance examination, and her mother took in boarders.⁴⁷¹ These suggest that successful girls in Aberdeen benefited more from their schools than family background, as none came from a particularly well-to-do family. However, an elder sister who had already become a teacher was an advantage.

Dundee

Having seen that distance did not prevent girls from Aberdeen from attending a training college, it might be expected that the shorter distance from Dundee ought not to be a deterrent prior to 1873. However, fewer girls did attend college. After 1873, Aberdeen became an option, but very few Dundee girls chose to travel north to Aberdeen. In 1882 Bella Baird went to Aberdeen Church of Scotland Training College and Annie Pyott and Mary Helen Kay to Aberdeen Free Church Training College. In 1890 Nellie R Carmichael, a pupil teacher at Butterburn half-timer school, attended Aberdeen Free Church College, despite having come 346th in Scotland in the entrance exam. Carmichael was unusual, firstly in that her father was a widower. Whilst many girls raised by widowed mothers became teachers, girls raised by widowed fathers did not, possibly because they were expected to assist more at home. Secondly, her family were comfortably middle class. Her father was a leather merchant, and employed both a

⁴⁶⁹ Married surname Baxter. 1901 census. *Urr*; ED: 2; Page: 21; Line: 17; Roll: *CSSCT1901_437*.

⁴⁷⁰ 1901 census *Aberdeen Rosemount*; ED: 53; Page: 35; Line: 10; Roll: *CSSCT1901_60*; 1891 census *Aberdeen St Nicholas*; ED: 6; Page: 12; Line: 18; Roll: *CSSCT1891_48*.

⁴⁷¹ 1891 census *Aberdeen Old Machar*; ED: 2; Page: 51; Line: 14; Roll: *CSSCT1891_52*; 1901 census *Aberdeen Old Machar*; ED: 4B; Page: 7; Line: 25; Roll: *CSSCT1901_55*.

housekeeper and a domestic servant in 1881.⁴⁷² Carmichael's elder brother Stewart became a well-known artist in Dundee.⁴⁷³ The majority from Dundee appear to have gone to one of the Edinburgh colleges. A rare exception was Elizabeth Deas, an assistant at Hunter Street School, who left to attend Glasgow Free Church Training College in 1877.⁴⁷⁴ Deas' father was an Insurance agent. Deas' younger sister, Susanella, also became a teacher.⁴⁷⁵ However, in 1881, their cousin, a power loom weaver lived with them. In 1884, Jane Simpson, who had been working as an ex-pupil teacher, and Charlotte Small, a pupil teacher both went to Edinburgh⁴⁷⁶ as did Catherine Napier,⁴⁷⁷ an ex-pupil teacher from Butterburn School in 1888.⁴⁷⁸ This small sample of girls from Dundee known to have attended teacher training college suggests that, unlike Aberdeen, where most girls went straight from pupil teaching to college, in Dundee some, like Jane Simpson and Elizabeth Deas, worked as teachers between completing their pupil teachership and starting college. Deas would have been 21 when she started training.



*Group of trainee teachers at Moray House College of Education, Edinburgh, c.1885*⁴⁷⁹

⁴⁷² 1881 census *St Peter*; ED: 15; Page: 41; Line: 20; Roll: *cssct1881_80*.

⁴⁷³ See e.g. <http://www.bbc.co.uk/arts/yourpaintings/artists/stewart-carmichael/paintings/slideshow>, last accessed 13 September 2013.

⁴⁷⁴ Dundee School Board minutes, 15 Jan 1877.

⁴⁷⁵ 1881 census *St Peter*; ED: 11; Page: 27; Line: 4; Roll: *cssct1881_80*.

⁴⁷⁶ Dundee School Board minutes April 1882 – March 1885, 24 Nov 1884, p. 556.

⁴⁷⁷ 1891 census *Dundee*; ED: 12; Page: 56; Line: 19; Roll: *CSSCT1891_93*.

⁴⁷⁸ *Dundee School Board minutes* 10 Dec 1888.

⁴⁷⁹ ©National Museums Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

The photograph of students at Moray House training college was taken in 1885 and includes a Dundee student, Jane Anne Fairweather, far right. Fairweather's father was a master bootmaker⁴⁸⁰, and this was another family where two sisters both became teachers.⁴⁸¹ An examination of the highest placed students from Dundee enables comparison with Aberdeen. In 1895, Emily Munro Millar, a pupil teacher at Morgan Academy, came sixteenth in Scotland, the highest ranked from Dundee. Her father, Mungo, was a shipwright. Emily was the tenth in a family of eleven children, and one of the minority to have come from a family connected to the jute industry. Elder sisters Mary Ann and Isabella were jute winders and Jessie and Martha were jute weavers. In the 1891 census there appear to have been seven wage-earners in the household, presumably lessening the need for Emily to leave school.⁴⁸² Anna Bella Wilkie, who came seventh in 1897, was a pupil teacher at Harris Academy. Her father was a wine and spirit merchant.⁴⁸³ Davina Ewen, the top placed girl in 1900, was born in 1881, the fifth in a family of seven. Her father was a bookseller, who died prior to the 1891 census, leaving her mother to raise the family.⁴⁸⁴ The eldest daughter, Maggie, became a photographer's assistant, the second, Williamina, a school teacher. The third, Jessie went into the mills as a jute weaver. Isabella worked in a shop. Davina, however, excelled. Despite coming thirtieth out of 1046 candidates, Ewen did not go to Teacher Training College, but became an Art student.⁴⁸⁵ In 1901, Mary W. Gray came fifth. Her father was a science teacher, giving her a middle class background. Her elder sister Annabella, was also a teacher. However her father's sister, living with them in 1901, was a 'former power-loom weaver'⁴⁸⁶ suggesting that her father had been upwardly mobile. The top students in Dundee appear to have come from a wider variety of backgrounds than those in Dundee, and there also appears to have been a wider diversity of occupation within their families.

⁴⁸⁰ 1881 census *Liff*; ED: 9b; Page: 7; Line: 23; Roll: *cssct1881_89*.

⁴⁸¹ Scran has a photograph of Helen Henderson Fairweather, taken in 1915, when she was an infant teacher in Monifieth.

⁴⁸² 1891 census *Dundee*; ED: 24; Page: 22; Line: 8; Roll: *CSSCT1891_94*.

⁴⁸³ 1891 census *Dundee*; ED: 11A; Page: 31; Line: 19; Roll: *CSSCT1891_91*.

⁴⁸⁴ 1891 census *Liff and Benvie*; ED: 26; Page: 11; Line: 20; Roll: *CSSCT1891_88*.

⁴⁸⁵ 1901 census *Liff and Benvie*; ED: 24; Page: 2; Line: 20; Roll: *CSSCT1901_91*.

⁴⁸⁶ 1901 census *Dundee*; ED: 39; Page: 39; Line: 5; Roll: *CSSCT1901_102*.

The main story in Dundee, though, is not that of the few successful students, but of the large numbers who languished near the bottom of the lists. The very poorest tended to be from Dundee's Roman Catholic schools. Roman Catholic schools fared badly; Bridget Callan, from St Patrick's Roman Catholic School came 797th out of 821 candidates in 1894; her mother was a widowed Irish born factory worker.⁴⁸⁷ Bridget Hobin, of St Mary's Roman Catholic School came 841st in 1897. Her father was a grocer; both parents were Irish.⁴⁸⁸ Catherine Noonan, also of St Patrick's School came 1042nd out of 1046 in 1900. Perhaps, given their circumstances, these results were impressive; to have sat the examination at all implied that these girls had continued their education to the age of 18, and that they had the ambition and drive to attempt self-improvement through education.

Govan

Unlike girls in Sutherland, Aberdeen prior to 1873 and Dundee, girls from Govan had readily accessible teacher training colleges. The vast majority chose to go to their nearest college, the Free Church teacher training college. In 1897, Catherine H. Sim, a pupil teacher at Govanhill School attended the Free Church College in Aberdeen.⁴⁸⁹ Both parents, however, were from Aberdeenshire. Her father, John Sim was a Buildings inspector.⁴⁹⁰ Amongst the highest achieving girls from Govan, two were sisters; Annie C MacArthur came fifth in Scotland in 1894 and Hilda E.F. MacArthur came tenth in 1899. Their father was a coal merchant⁴⁹¹ and their sisters Mary and Helen were also teachers. Clerk's daughter Elizabeth McM Lapraik came eighteenth in 1895.⁴⁹² In 1901, Constance Allington came second in Scotland, but as she was born in England I have not been able

⁴⁸⁷ 1881 census 282-5 6 23.

⁴⁸⁸ 1881 census 282-5 5A 23.

⁴⁸⁹ Free Church of Scotland Teacher Training Record book. Aberdeen University Special Collections ref 1421/2/1/1/2/1

⁴⁹⁰ 1891 census *Glasgow Govan*; ED: 97; Page: 5; Line: 22; Roll: *CSSCT1891_293*.

⁴⁹¹ 1891 census *Glasgow Govan*; ED: 40; Page: 22; Line: 1; Roll: *CSSCT1891_298*.

⁴⁹² 1901 census *Old Kilpatrick*; ED: 12; Page: 10; Line: 12; Roll: *CSSCT1901_173*.

to research her family background. She chose to train at Dowanhill Roman Catholic college.⁴⁹³

Edinburgh



*Teachers and students at the college Boarding house in Picardy Place, Edinburgh, around 1895.*⁴⁹⁴

As stated above, despite having excellent pupil teacher conditions and readily accessible colleges, the numbers of girls from Edinburgh sitting the entrance examination was comparatively low. The above photograph shows one student Martha (Attie) Amos⁴⁹⁵ (back left, wearing the lace collar), and her family background may give a clue as to the reason for Edinburgh's low rate. Attie Amos' father, William Amos, was a slater and glazier. The family had a domestic servant in 1881⁴⁹⁶, but not in 1891⁴⁹⁷ or 1901⁴⁹⁸.

⁴⁹³ There is a photograph of her gravestone at http://image2.findagrave.com/photos/2012/28/13861243_132786309840.jpg, last accessed 17 Jan 2013.

⁴⁹⁴ ©National Museums Scotland. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk

⁴⁹⁵ Martha Amos (1876-1954)

⁴⁹⁶ 1881 census *Haddington*; ED: 4; Page: 4; Line: 11; Roll: *cssct1881_304*.

⁴⁹⁷ 1891 census *Haddington*; ED: 4; Page: 8; Line: 20; Roll: *CSSCT1891_372*.

There were six children in the family; Martha, Jane, William, Frances, Agnes and Effie. Martha became a teacher, Frances became a Post Office clerk, and Agnes and Effie both became pharmacists, albeit that they moved to England.⁴⁹⁹ Meanwhile a similarly aged cousin, Mary Jane Amos, became a domestic servant.⁵⁰⁰ It has already been noted that many teachers had sisters in the profession. Attie Amos came from a background which elsewhere in Scotland might have produced four teachers. Instead it produced one teacher, one clerk and two pharmacists. The range of white-blouse occupations available to women, including in the printing trade,⁵⁰¹ may have siphoned off women who would otherwise have become teachers.

Turning now to some of the highest achieving girls from Edinburgh, to compare with those previously studied, the top student in Scotland in 1894 was Joan Noble Brown. Brown makes an interesting case study. Her father, William Brown came from Fordyce, a Banffshire village closely associated with the 'lad o' pairts.' Joan herself was born in Dundee, although raised in Edinburgh, where her father worked for the Y.M.C.A. A pupil teacher at the school attached to the successful Free Church Training College, Joan was ideally placed to succeed in the Entrance examination. By 1901 she was a teacher in Edinburgh, as was her younger sister, Mary, with her youngest sister, Christina, working as a pupil teacher.⁵⁰² In 1895, Minnie Calder came thirteenth. Minnie Calder's father was an egg merchant. Born in Caithness, he died when Minnie was a child, and her mother earned a living from 'art embroidery.' By 1901 the family were living in Wimbledon, with Minnie's mother described as an 'employer' and her two sisters working in art embroidery, one as a designer. Minnie was working as an elementary school teacher.⁵⁰³ Again, 'art embroidery' may have been a white blouse occupation which was an alternative to teaching. In 1899, Agnes McM Murdoch came 47th, a low position for the highest ranking Edinburgh candidate. She was a pupil teacher at South Bridge School,

⁴⁹⁸ 1901 census *Haddington*; ED: 4; Page: 8; Line: 2; Roll: *CSSCT1901_408*.

⁴⁹⁹ 1911 census England *RG14*; Piece: 7929; Schedule Number: 217; .

⁵⁰⁰ 1891 census *Haddington*; ED: 1; Page: 1; Line: 16; Roll: *CSSCT1891_372*.

⁵⁰¹ See, e.g. Reynolds, Sian, *Brittanicas Typesetters; Women compositors in Edinburgh* Edinburgh, EUP, 1989.

⁵⁰² 1901 census *Edinburgh Robertson Memorial*; ED: 107; Page: 5; Line: 2; Roll: *CSSCT1901_389*.

⁵⁰³ 1901 census Wimbledon *RG13*; Piece: 657; Folio: 39; Page: 27.

and her father was a store keeper at a gas works. Her elder sister Jane was already a teacher.⁵⁰⁴ In 1901 Agnes Westwood, a millwright's daughter, came third.⁵⁰⁵

The importance of the successful 'lass' to local identity.

One important component of the mythology of the 'lad o' pairts' as already discussed in the introduction was the sense of community pride engendered by a successful lad. Did such a sense of pride exist for the successful 'lass'? One example of a feted girl was reported in the *Educational News*;

On the evening of Friday, the 22nd ult, Miss Flora Hunter, pupil teacher at Port Ellen Public School, Islay, was made the recipient of a handsome 'Royal Drooko' umbrella and a gold brooch from the teachers and scholars, on the occasion of her departure to continue her studies in the Normal Training College, Glasgow. Mr Donald Maclachlan, M.A. in felicitous terms laudatory of Miss Hunter's pupil teacher career, made the presentation, and Mr John Young replied on behalf of the young lady. A half-holiday was declared in honour of the event.⁵⁰⁶

Flora Hunter had come 66th in the pass-list, with credits in Latin and French, and so her community were not celebrating a conspicuously high achiever.⁵⁰⁷

Were many successful girls celebrated in this way? The *Aberdeen Journal* reported fulsomely on local girls who succeeded in gaining bursaries for teacher training college. 1871 was a particularly good year; a Miss Jones, for example, came second in the bursary list for Moray House having been 'prepared for the examination by Mr Trail,

⁵⁰⁴ 1901 census *Edinburgh St Leonards*; ED: 10; Page: 18; Line: 1; Roll: CSSCT1901_385.

⁵⁰⁵ 1901 census *Edinburgh Abbey*; ED: 16; Page: 13; Line: 5; Roll: CSSCT1901_378.

⁵⁰⁶ *Educational News* 1899, 14 October 1899, p. 705.

⁵⁰⁷ Flora Hunter passed first year in the Second division, and second year in the Third, and so was one of the poorer students in her year at Glasgow Free Church teacher training college. Like most of her fellow students, she attended some University classes in her second year. (*Educational News* 1900, 6 October 1900, p 684 and *Educational News* 1901, 5 October 1901, p712.)

Free North School.’ Rachel Souter had also gained a bursary to Moray House.⁵⁰⁸ Results were even better in the bursary list for the Church of Scotland Teacher Training School in Edinburgh, with the *Aberdeen Journal* gushing;

We have much please in stating that, out of 65 candidates who applied for admission at the Established Church Normal Examination in December, Miss Elizabeth Cumming has been returned first on the list of Bursars, and Miss Louisa Ross third. Both these young ladies are pupil teachers in the East Parish School, and their thus surpassing so many girls, from all parts of Scotland, is a credit to themselves and also to their teacher, Miss Chalmers, whose own career as a student in the Normal was as brilliant as she seems determined to make that of her pupils.⁵⁰⁹

Alexandrina Ogg,⁵¹⁰ from the Aberdeen School of Industry, came second.⁵¹¹ These newspapers accounts of girls’ success follow the ‘lad o’ pairts’ narrative of successful student, proud teacher and supportive community. The Dundee newspapers do not appear to have celebrated successful local female candidates, although reports of girls from the surrounding hinterlands being presented with gifts by their schools do appear. As regards Govan and Edinburgh, the *Glasgow Herald* and *Scotsman* were national, rather than regional newspapers and it is perhaps unsurprising that they did not cover the examination results.

Conclusion

In conclusion, the large, and increasing, numbers of female pupil teachers and other girls and young women who sat the common entrance examination for teacher training college indicates considerable demand for a professional career amongst young women. Teacher training involved one, and, from 1858, two years at college. For many this meant two years living away from home in a boarding house attached to the college.

⁵⁰⁸ *Aberdeen Journal*, 25 Jan 1871

⁵⁰⁹ *Aberdeen Journal*, 25 Jan 1871

⁵¹⁰ Ogg’s father was a land surveyor which locates her in the middle classes. However, he had died prior to the 1871 census, so she appears to be another girl raised by a widowed mother.

⁵¹¹ *Aberdeen Journal*, 25 Jan 1871.

Although bursaries were paid, money was inevitably tight. Girls came from a variety of backgrounds, predominantly from the skilled working classes. One factor in family background stands out as important; many of the girls who achieved top marks in the entrance exam were following an elder sister, or sisters, into teaching. An elder sister could act as mentor to a younger sister. The boost given to young people who have an opportunity to be mentored today is recognised; the point to be made in relation to girls in mid-late Victorian Scotland is perhaps not to recognise the benefits of an older, experienced guide, but to recognise the difficulty faced by girls who lacked any form of mentor. A mentor – the dominie – is an intrinsic part of the mythology of the ‘lad o’ pairts’ story. There is no reason why a dominie could not encourage a ‘lass’ too, and there is no doubt many did. But a female mentor could act as a more effective role model. I would argue that one of the drivers of the pre-eminence of Aberdeen in the pass-lists of the Entrance examination is the fact that Aberdeen had a number of qualified teachers in the 1860s, giving their pupils an example of a woman who had attended college, and that examination success became normalised. Girls in Sutherland, already identified as having experienced the difficulties common to both sexes of poverty and geographical isolation, also lacked mentors. Boys had male dominies, but also ministers, and local political leaders, who were invariably men, and who operated within a male-only hierarchy. Girls in Dundee – the Woman’s Town – had role models and mentors within the jute industry, but these role models were often inimical to teaching. The relatively low number of teachers in Dundee who had attended college, may help explain the low success rate amongst its entrance examination candidates. Govan, whose newly built schools were staffed with newly appointed qualified teachers also provided ready mentors to its female pupils. In Govan, like Aberdeen, successful female teachers had become normalised, and I would argue that this is reflected in the high success rates amongst Govan girls. Edinburgh had trained teachers, and girls need not lack mentors, but possibly the variety of white blouse occupations available to women in Edinburgh meant that training college was not the only successful conclusion to several years spent as a pupil teacher. For most girls sitting the entrance examination, success meant leaving home to attend college for two years. This is not something that any girl would do lightly. The existence of the colleges, and the fierce competition to gain a place, indicates a

strong desire for mid and late Victorian women for professional training and status, and a means to upward social mobility through their own efforts.

Chapter Five Careers in Teaching.

Introduction.

During the Victorian period, the teaching profession grew in size, with a large increase as a result of the Education (Scotland) Act 1872, as can be seen from Table 5.1 below. The number of female teachers grew disproportionately within this overall increase. Indeed, the term ‘feminisation of the teaching profession’ has been used to describe the process by which women came to form the majority of teachers.⁵¹² However, the actual number of teachers is difficult to count, especially in the case of men and women who ran the ‘Bodsie’ or ‘Dame’ schools, which often offered little more than childminding, and which were often omitted from census returns, either because men ran a small school in conjunction with another occupation such as cobbling, or because women’s occupations were regularly under-reported in the decennial census.⁵¹³ (Interestingly, while the term ‘Dame school’ is still used to describe a very basic school providing a limited education, the term ‘Bodsie school’ has all but vanished, leaving the impression that providing a low-quality education was the sole province of women.)

Table 5.1 Number of teachers in Scotland.

Year	Male	% men	Female	% female	Total
1851	4869	64%	2708	36%	7577
1861	5825	59%	4015	41%	9840
1871	5358	54%	4629	46%	9987
1881	6729	42%	9266	58%	15995

⁵¹² See, for example, Anderson, R.D. *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918* Clarendon Press, 1995, Oxford p176; Lindy Moore critiques this usage –see Abrams, L, Gordon, E, Simonton, D, Yeo, E.J. (eds) *Gender in Scottish History since 1700* EUP 2006, p.123.

⁵¹³ Aberdeen School Board inspected six Dame Schools in 1877, giving the name and address of each teacher. They taught an average of 30 pupils each. I have been able to identify only two from census returns.

Anderson gives the figure of 5,713 teachers in public schools in 1870;⁵¹⁴ a lower figure than the 9987 given above, which includes teachers in private schools. The percentage of female teachers in public schools was smaller; Anderson gives a figure of 33% of certificated teachers and 41% of pupil teachers. The figures in Table 5.1 suggest that there was a groundswell in the number and percentage of female teachers overall, before the increase in number and percentage in the public schools, and that the process of the ‘feminisation of the teaching profession’ had its roots well before the 1872 Act.

This ‘feminisation’ was complex; while a growing number of women sought to become teachers, teaching became a less attractive option for men. Thus, as this thesis contends, the process may not have been mainly a feminisation, but, in practical terms, a de-masculinsation; men leaving the profession was more significant in permitting female entry, which otherwise might not have occurred to any major extent. However, this thesis is not focussing on the crisis of male teaching, though there is clearly a study to be done. Nonetheless, it is worth observing that the burgeoning Victorian civil service drew recruits from the same social strata as teachers and was in many ways a more attractive option for men, with a stratified system which offered more guarantee of ultimate promotion. After 1872, as already mentioned in the Introduction of this thesis, under the School Boards schools grew in size, often accommodating over 1,000 pupils, and the former situation, where male teachers were certain of gaining a headmastership eventually, changed. The new schools had a far smaller ratio of head teachers to assistant teachers. As a result, men were simultaneously attracted by the good conditions offered by the civil service and dissuaded by the poorer promotion prospects within teaching. Although there were a few civil service occupations open to women, the vast bulk of civil service positions were male only. The result was that fewer men became teachers and the increased demand for teachers was met by women. As the opportunities for women within the teaching profession expanded, was this increasingly a vehicle for upward social mobility? It was not clear at the time where the increasing proportion of female teachers might lead. In 1893, Mr Gray of Edinburgh School Board, gave a paper to the Edinburgh EIS about a visit to the United States. ‘The States seem the paradise of female

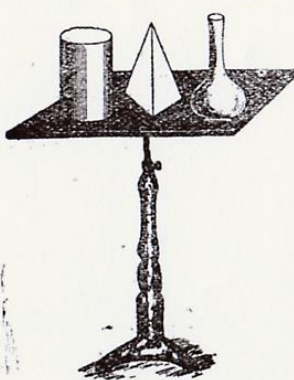
⁵¹⁴ Anderson, R.D. *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918* Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 177.

teachers. It would appear that there are almost no male teachers in the Chicago primary and grammar schools, all the principals in the high schools visited in Chicago being women.⁵¹⁵ There were concerns that men would disappear from the classrooms altogether. For example, at the 1896 E.I.S. Conference Dr William Dey spoke on 'The Dearth of Male Teachers'.⁵¹⁶ The increased pay rate for male pupil teachers has been discussed in Chapter Three of this thesis; further measures to encourage men to enter the profession will be explored later in this chapter.

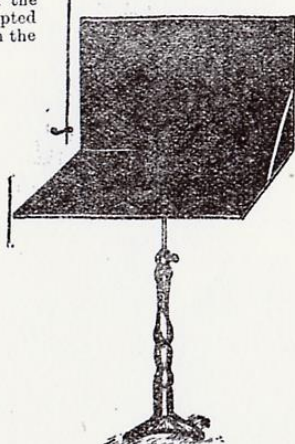
THE ECLIPSE ADJUSTABLE TABLE (PATENT).

One of H.M. Inspectors writes—"I consider the apparatus admirably well adapted for the purpose in view."

A Headmaster writes—"I think the Eclipse Drawing Table admirably adapted to its purpose. Altogether it is much the best table I have seen."



As a Model Drawing Table.

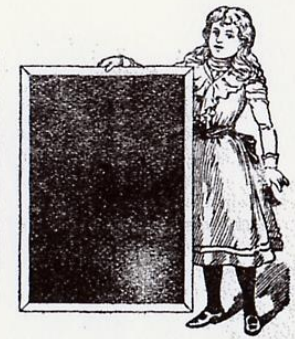


As an Apparatus for Teaching Solid Geometry.

Can be used as an ordinary Table on which to place Models, and by means of a simple arrangement can quickly be transformed into an apparatus for teaching Solid Geometry. The Table can be raised by means of a simple Screw to a height of 30 in., and lowered to a height of 18 in. from the floor.

Price 29s. Complete.

The Eclipse BLACKBOARD.



A CHILD CAN HANDLE IT.

A BOON TO LADY TEACHERS.

The Eclipse Blackboard is made of a New and Durable Blackboard Material.

The Lightest Portable Blackboard ever introduced.

27" x 38", 10/6; 30" x 42", 12/6.

The GRANT EDUCATIONAL CO., Ltd., Herald Buildings, 68 Mitchell Street, Glasgow.

An indication of the feminisation of the teaching profession; advertisements, such as this one for 'The Eclipse Blackboard,' aimed at female teachers. This advertisement appeared regularly in the Educational News throughout 1900.

Types of teacher.

Women could become a teacher through several routes. This thesis focuses on teachers who progressed through pupil teaching to teacher training college and became

⁵¹⁵ *Dundee Courier & Argus*, 23 October 1893.

⁵¹⁶ *Aberdeen Journal* 31 Dec 1896, p. 6.

trained certificated teachers, as these were the women who had followed the ‘lass o’ pairts’ route into further education and from there into a career .

Jobs were readily available for such women, although for some this meant living in far-flung parts of Scotland. These are the teachers most likely to gain a promoted post and to be upwardly socially mobile. However it was possible to be employed as an ex-pupil teacher on completion of the pupil teachership, and then study independently and sit the examination for certification. These teachers were described as untrained certificated teachers. Most ex pupil teachers were female; in 1891, Dundee School Board employed 53 ex pupil teachers, of whom 48 were female, 3 male, and 3 unnamed.⁵¹⁷ This number decreased to 30 in 1901, of whom 28 were female and 2 male.⁵¹⁸ Their chance of promotion was generally low, although, for example, Isabella Burgess in Aberdeen was untrained but gained both certification and the LLA degree and became an Infant Mistress.⁵¹⁹ Finally, there were ex-pupil teachers⁵²⁰ who did not gain a teaching certificate and would remained poorly paid and with few prospects. As discussed in Chapter Four, one possible reason for the low number of girls from Dundee going to teacher training college may have been Dundee School Boards willingness to employ ex-pupil teachers. In 1889, Dundee School Board employed two ex-pupil teachers, Davina Matthew and Jane Sime, both of whom had the LLA. Both were employed on an initial salary of £36, rising to £40 the following year.⁵²¹ This was a low salary, given that they were both in their twenties, with LLAs. Govan School Board also employed ex-pupil teachers, but these usually progressed on to certification. Aberdeen and Edinburgh School Boards preferred trained teachers. There were too few female teachers in east Sutherland to form any conclusion as to School Board policy. Women were also employed as sewing teachers, often part time and for low pay. One exception to this was in Edinburgh, where sewing teachers were paid up to a maximum of £100 p.a. in 1891.⁵²²

⁵¹⁷ Dundee School Board minutes April 1890-March 1891, 9 October 1890.

⁵¹⁸ Dundee School Board minutes April 1900- March 1901, appendix to minutes of 14 Jan 1901, pp. 294-305.

⁵¹⁹ See p. 114.

⁵²⁰ Anderson describes these as “uncertificated assistants” but I am using the term “ex-pupil teacher” as per School Board minutes.

⁵²¹ Dundee School Board minutes April 1890-March 1891, 9 Oct 1890.

⁵²² Edinburgh School Board minutes, SL28/2/15, appendix IV attached to minutes of 16 Nov 1891.

Towards the end of the nineteenth century cookery became a specialised subject, taught by women who had trained in one of the new cookery schools. Finally, a further specialisation, educating deaf children in day schools, became the province of female teachers, although for most of the Victorian era deaf and dumb children lived in institutions headed by a husband and wife working as teacher and matron.⁵²³ The first teacher of the deaf and dumb in Dundee was Ellen Crassweller.⁵²⁴ Her father was a Baptist minister, which suggests that specialist teachers may have come from a higher social stratum. Crassweller was born and raised in England. By 1908, Crassweller was employed by Aberdeen School Board.⁵²⁵

One issue which must be dealt with is that of the graduate teacher. Anderson states that;

Women were a third of the profession in 1870, two-thirds by the 1900s, but they remained concentrated in the lower ranks, partly because they usually left on marriage, partly because of the tradition of graduate teachers, which made school boards reluctant to appoint female heads. After 1872 public schools were normally mixed, and women teachers, like lady managers, might regret the disappearance of separate girls' schools.⁵²⁶

And McDermid comments; 'Even certificated teachers were seen as being of inferior status to the University educated dominie: the former was trained, the latter intellectually educated. This prejudice against the former persisted throughout the nineteenth century.'⁵²⁷ Whilst School Boards may well have preferred to have graduate teachers, the fact is that the 'tradition' of graduate teachers was not upheld by Aberdeen, Dundee, or Govan School Boards, all of whom appointed mainly men who had attended Training College. None of the heads of the first eight schools taken over by Aberdeen School Board were graduates, although there were four graduate teachers at the Grammar School, and eight at Robert Gordon's, Aberdeen's most prestigious schools.⁵²⁸ By 1896,

⁵²³ E.g. in Aberdeen, Mr and Mrs F Bill and Mr and Mrs A Pender.

⁵²⁴ *Dundee Directory* 1888-89, pp. 64-65.

⁵²⁵ *Aberdeen Post Office Directory* 1908

⁵²⁶ Anderson, R.D. *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918* Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 176.

⁵²⁷ McDermid, Jane, *The Schooling of Working Class Girls in Victorian Scotland; Gender, education and identity*, Routledge, 2005, p. 115.

⁵²⁸ *Aberdeen Directory* 1874/75 pp. 41-42.

in the Public Elementaries, only thirteen of Aberdeen's fifty five male teachers and only four of its twenty one male heads were graduates⁵²⁹ although the Grammar had eleven graduates, Robert Gordon's nine and the High School for Girls had six; three male and three female (two had English B.As and the third an LLA).⁵³⁰ William Farrell, headmaster of Ruthrieston Public Elementary had not even attended training college, but had been given a teaching position on completion of his pupil teachership⁵³¹ and subsequently become a headmaster in his thirties. The position was the same in Dundee where, in 1890, there were only two male graduate teachers in the Public Elementaries, one each at Blackness School and at Cowgate School. There were, however, seven graduate teachers at Harris Academy and nine at Morgan Academy. Meanwhile, four of the female Public Elementary teachers were LLAs, with a further two at Harris Academy and one at Morgan Academy.⁵³² By 1901, Harris Academy and Morgan Academy had nine male graduate teachers apiece, with a further six spread over all the Public Elementaries. Harris and Morgan had four LLAs, with a further five in the Elementaries.⁵³³ Non-graduate, untrained men could rise to the position of Second Master at least, in Dundee; both David H. Pryde at Hawkhill School and James Brown at Cowgate School were in this position.⁵³⁴ Govan School Board was in direct contact with the heads of both Glasgow Training Colleges to recruit male teachers. Given their difficulty in finding male candidates, it appears that graduate teachers were assumed to be unobtainable. East Sutherland, too, rarely appointed graduate teachers, simply because the salaries and conditions were not sufficiently attractive. Kildonan School Board advertised for a male graduate in 1900, but were unable to get one.

Therefore, although the Scottish 'dominie' is usually depicted as a graduate, in fact most of the male Elementary school teachers in the five areas examined for this thesis were not graduates but were, like the female trained teachers, products of the

⁵²⁹ Aberdeen School Board Member's Directory 1896/7

⁵³⁰ *Aberdeen Directory* 1896/97 p. 53.

⁵³¹ William Crimea Farrell died 1894, aged 38. He was married to Annie Ewen who will be mentioned in Chapter 6. See *In Memoriam, Aberdeen, 1894*, pp. 147-8.

⁵³² Dundee School Board minutes April 1890-March 1891, 9 Oct 1890, p. 472.

⁵³³ Dundee School Board minutes April 1900-March 1901, appendix attached to minute of 14 Jan 1901, pp. 294-305.

⁵³⁴ Dundee School Board minutes April 1900-March 1901, appendix attached to minute of 14 Jan 1901, pp. 294-305. Brown was on a salary of £152 10s, but Pryde was on just £110.

teacher training colleges. Male teachers had had the opportunity for centuries to attend University classes, which only became available to women in 1892. However the difference in educational level between male and female teachers was slight, especially as some female teachers had gained the St Andrews LLA degree. In Aberdeen and Dundee graduate teachers were concentrated in a small number of high-status schools catering to the middle classes. Perhaps, in Govan, graduate teachers found posts in prestigious schools in Glasgow, rather than in Public Elementaries in Govan, and certainly in other remoter communities graduates would be tempted to migrate to high status schools within more prosperous towns.

Salaries.

Legislation fixed minimum salaries for schoolteachers under the old parochial system, but this system broke down under the pressure of urbanisation. In 1861, a new salary scale from £35 to £70 pa for a man and no more than £30pa for a woman was fixed.⁵³⁵ These salaries did not applied only to parish schools. However, under the Revised Code of 1862, a system of ‘payment by results’ was instituted, whereby grants were paid to schools according to the number of pupils, their attendance record and their academic performance. The Revised Code was very unpopular in Scotland, where it was seen as contrary to the ethos of Scottish education (indeed, it was often referred to as the ‘English Code’) as it encouraged rote learning and ‘teaching to the test.’ One curious feature was that successful teachers could earn substantial bonuses, and that a very few female teachers earned large salaries. As an example, at Virginia Street School, Aberdeen, Christina Bannerman⁵³⁶ was paid more than her male equivalent in 1874.⁵³⁷ However, the re-organisation following the 1872 Act largely removed this possibility for women; in Christina Bannerman’s case she was moved to a fixed-salary position at

⁵³⁵ Scotland, James, *The History of Scottish Education* (Volume 2) University of London Press Ltd. 1969, p. 229.

⁵³⁶ McCall, A.T. *Aberdeen School Board Female Teachers 1872-1901: a biographical list*. Aberdeen and North East Scotland Family History Society 2007, p. 5.

⁵³⁷ Aberdeen School Board minutes ED 1180/1/1, 11 June 1874.

Princes Street School. I will return to this issue in the next chapter, which deals with women in promoted posts.

Overwhelmingly, female teachers were paid less than men. There were some exceptions; many church and charity schools paid pro rata according to the number of pupils taught, and paid the same rate to both male and female teachers. These however, tended to be short term jobs for men, taken after leaving Training College whilst seeking a better post, but were long term, or even lifelong jobs for women. So, discrimination was built into the system. One argument is that men ‘needed’ to earn more money, as they were the ‘breadwinners’ of a family, and expected to support a wife and children. This argument was specious as single women often supported aged parents, or orphaned nieces and nephews. Widowed teachers, who will be discussed subsequently, supported their own children. However, as will be seen, the School Board records suggest that the wage differential arose mainly because of the difficulty in attracting male teachers, compared to the ease of attracting female teachers. As male teachers became an increasingly scarce resource, their wages rose. Even increased wages could prove ineffective. In 1879 the letters page of the *Aberdeen Free Press* carried a query from ‘J.McC’ as to ‘why does there exist so great a preponderance numerically of female compared with male teachers? Is it owing to the over abundant supply of females, combined with the mayhap scarcity of males?’ J.McC prophesied disaster with the growth of ‘an unruly, mischief loving spirit’ among ‘rough and unruly boys’... ‘not being under the rein of proper restraint’ by ‘delicate and gentle’ lady teachers. J.McC recommended the School Board spend less on new schools and more on paying extra for male teachers.⁵³⁸ However, as the School Board could have told him, simply paying more was not proving sufficient to attract men into elementary school teaching.

One difficulty in comparing salaries is the method of calculation, touched on above, a topic which will assume greater importance in the next chapter. In most areas, non-promoted teachers received a fixed salary while promoted teachers were paid according to a complicated formula involving a basic salary, a proportion of government grant and a proportion of fees. In Aberdeen, however, all teachers’ income was

⁵³⁸ Aberdeen Daily Free Press 25 Oct 1879, p. 3.

calculated by formula until the late 1880s. This meant that their salaries varied from year to year, but more importantly for the researcher, it means that it is usually impossible to discover their total emoluments.

Anderson gives the average salary for certificated teachers:

Table 5.2 Average salary for certificated teachers.

Year	Men	Women
1870	110	55
1880	139	71
1899	110	68

Source: Anderson, R.D. *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918* Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 177.

According to Corr, in the period 1872-1900, the mean annual salaries of female teachers varied between £62-£72 and the corresponding figures for male teachers ranged between £121 and £143 per annum. These figures presumably exclude those in promoted posts.

It may be useful to examine the salaries achievable in different areas. I will return to the subject of salaries in Chapter Six, in relation to women in promoted posts. In this chapter I will focus on the salaries paid to non-promoted female teachers, although inevitably there will be some mention of higher salaries. In Sutherland, as in most rural areas, accommodation in the form of a schoolhouse, usually with a garden adjacent to the school, formed part of the remuneration. As the value of this is difficult to quantify, it is hard to compare salaries directly. Examples of female salaries varied between £40 p.a., plus accommodation paid to Miss Wallace, Loth; £45 plus a ‘partially furnished’ house paid to Maggie Gunn at Kildonan,⁵³⁹ and £65 p.a., plus accommodation paid to Barbara Green, Loth.⁵⁴⁰ By Oct 1881 the Aberdeen School Board minutes were referring (without explanation) to ‘the diminished salaries now being paid to certificated female

⁵³⁹ Kildonan School Board minutes 13 March 1900.

⁵⁴⁰ Clyne School Board minutes

teachers at the close of their Normal school course.’⁵⁴¹ The number of women entering the teaching profession was increasing, but their salaries were falling. Diminished salaries widened the already wide gap between head posts and others. In 1884, at St Paul Street School, headmistress Chalmers was paid £240, the infant mistress £90, two senior certificated mistresses £80 each, two junior certificated mistresses £55 each, the sewing mistress £45, two ex pupil-teachers £37 10s and the ten pupil-teachers (all female) an average of £15 each.⁵⁴²

Table 5.3: Teaching Salaries in Aberdeen in 1896.

Salary Range	Male Teachers	Female Teachers
£400	2	0
£300 - £399	11	0
£200 - £299	8	2
£100 - £199	25	16
£80 - £99	9	21
£60 - £79	0	136
£35 - £59	0	92

Source: Aberdeen School Board Member’s Directory 1896/7.

Table 5.3 does not separate promoted posts from unpromoted; there were 25 School Board Schools, and 49 of the above posts were promoted posts.⁵⁴³ However, it may be seen that no male teacher under Aberdeen School Board was paid less than £80 p.a., and

⁵⁴¹ Aberdeen School Board minutes ED 1180/1/3, 12 Oct 1881

⁵⁴² Aberdeen School Board minutes ED 1180/1//4, 12 March 1884

⁵⁴³ The small Primrose Infants School had a single promoted post.

that only nine fell in the £80-£99 category. Meanwhile, 92 female teachers, mostly ex-PTs and untrained, were paid under £60 p.a., and a further 136, the bulk of Aberdeen's teaching profession, were female teachers paid between £60 and £79. However, the position, whilst appearing to confirm Anderson's figures of males being paid double the female salary, is more nuanced. A male trained certificated assistant teacher was paid between £80 and £100; a female trained certificated assistant teacher was paid between £60 and £80. Much of the discrepancy is explained by the existence of female untrained, uncertificated teachers. Dundee School Board fixed their salary scale in 1891. Untrained but certificated female teachers were to have a starting salary of £40 p.a.; trained certificated female teachers were to have a starting salary of £50pa. This scale was to come into effect on 1 Jan 1892.⁵⁴⁴ Salaries in Govan were higher than in East Sutherland, Aberdeen or Dundee. Like Aberdeen, Govan School Board was explicit in its difficulties in obtaining male assistant teachers. In 1873, it appointed a female mistress and a male second master to Maxwell School, on respective salaries of £65 and £80.⁵⁴⁵ However, in early 1874 the Board advertised for male and female assistants with a salary of £60 for each. On 9 March 1874, the Board minutes note 'The committee had no difficulty in naming several excellent candidates from the list of female applications but recommended that the Board should again advertise for male assistants and offer a salary of £80 p.a.'⁵⁴⁶ Thereafter, the gap between male and female salaries became a permanent feature. This suggests that the scarcity of men, rather than any perceived inferiority of women, was the reason for the pay differential. In 1875, one male teacher was sacked, and a temporary female teacher put in his place until a male replacement could be found. This suggests that the Board could access women willing to take on a temporary position, but not men.⁵⁴⁷ When the Board advertised several posts, they received 82 applications for headmasterships, 40 applications for headmistress-ships but only 22 applications for the post of second master.⁵⁴⁸ By the end of 1875 the Board was reporting that 'it was found that suitable candidates (for male assistants) could not be obtained' and the Board

⁵⁴⁴ Dundee School Board minutes 11 May 1891. p. 37.

⁵⁴⁵ Govan School Board minutes D-ED 1/4/1/1. The teachers were Miss Robertson and John McArthur.

⁵⁴⁶ Govan School Board minutes D-ED 1/4/1/1, 9 March 1875, p. 93.

⁵⁴⁷ Govan School Board, Vol 2, 12 April 1875. The male assistant had taken time off work to visit a sick mother, who, it transpired, did not exist.

⁵⁴⁸ Govan School Board minutes D-ED 1/4/1/2 14 June 1875, pp. 53-4.

resolved to contact the rectors of both Glasgow Normal colleges, advising them that they were offering a salary of £80 p.a. for a male assistant straight from college.⁵⁴⁹ By 1876 male assistants were being paid £80 p.a. and female assistants £60. Newly employed female assistants in 1877 included 21 year old shipyard's clerk's daughter Euphemia Sibbald⁵⁵⁰ and 21 year old Isabella Duncan, whose widowed mother ran a lodging house.⁵⁵¹ Whilst female teachers were earning only 75% of their male counterparts' salary, it is noticeable that these salaries were being paid to young men and women; good salaries were attainable quickly in Govan. Women do appear to have been encouraged to move up the career ladder; in 1877, four ex-pupil teachers gained their teaching certificates and received substantial increases in salary.⁵⁵² Hannah Hetherington was born in 9 March 1858,⁵⁵³ the eldest child of a spirit merchant's salesman. By 1871 she was a pupil teacher,⁵⁵⁴ and was employed as a 4th year pupil teacher on a salary of £17 10s when the School Board took over Kinning Park School in 1874.⁵⁵⁵ In 1875, the Board minutes noted that she was to be appointed an ex-pupil teacher assistant when her pupil teachership was completed, on a salary of £35 p.a.⁵⁵⁶ When she gained her certificate, her salary was increased to £40 p.a. She had just turned 19. The other three ex-pupil teachers were slightly older. Carter's daughter Jessie Lang was 21; she had been appointed an ex-pupil teacher at Kelvin Street School in 1873, on a salary of £30 p.a.⁵⁵⁷ subsequently increased to £45 in 1875.⁵⁵⁸ Her salary later increased to £60 p.a. Pattern weaver's daughter Mary A McWhinnie, whose salary increased to £50 p.a. was 23.⁵⁵⁹ Jessie Mackenzie, whose salary increased from £35 to £50 was 24. These salaries suggest that there was little point in a pupil teacher from Govan spending two years at Normal College in the early 1870s. However, the School Board clearly wanted to encourage

⁵⁴⁹ Govan School Board minutes D-ED 1/4/1/2 8 Nov 1875, p. 94.

⁵⁵⁰ 1881 census - *Govan*; ED: 36; Page: 25; Line: 14; Roll: *cssct1881_256*.

⁵⁵¹ 1881 census - *Glasgow St David*; ED: 5; Page: 17; Line: 2; Roll: *cssct1881_228*.

⁵⁵² Govan School Board minutes D-ED 1/4/1/2 9 April 1877 pp. 299-300.

⁵⁵³ Birth certificate 1858 644/10 0448

⁵⁵⁴ 1871 census *Govan*; ED: 9; Page: 6; Line: 23; Roll: *CSSCT1871_143*.

⁵⁵⁵ Govan School Board Staff List, Entry 32.

⁵⁵⁶ Govan School Board minutes D-ED 1/4/1/2, 11 Oct 1875, p. 87.

⁵⁵⁷ Govan School Board minutes D-ED 1/4/1/1, 8 Dec 1873, p. 64.

⁵⁵⁸ Govan School Board minutes D-ED 1/4/1/2, 11 Oct 1875, p. 87.

⁵⁵⁹ 1881 census *Glasgow Barony*; ED: 86; Page: 18; Line: 20; Roll: *cssct1881_238*.

pupil teachers to progress to Normal College, as described in Chapter Three. By way of comparison, the truancy officer's salary was £70 p.a.⁵⁶⁰ and a janitor was paid £52 p.a.⁵⁶¹

The salaries given for women might suggest that upward social mobility was not achievable by women through teaching. However, as Christina Struthers commented '...it is maintained that the position they (women teachers) occupy, and the remuneration they receive, are, in reality, already beyond what the majority of them would command in any other walk, and above that of the social rank from which they come.' It has been repeatedly demonstrated throughout this thesis that the majority of female teachers came from the skilled working classes or lower middle classes, with a significant proportion raised by widowed mothers. The majority of male teachers came from the same social class. Whereas female teachers' pay was poor in comparison to the salaries earned by their male counterparts, they frequently earned more than their childhood family income. Many female teachers formed double income households of two or more sisters or friends. Their personal experience was of upward social mobility, albeit at a lesser trajectory than that of male teachers. Female salaries were high compared to many of the other options open to women. This is particularly true of Dundee, where teachers earned far more than jute workers; during the slump in the jute trade in 87, spinners were paid only 8 s 6d a week.⁵⁶²

The comparison between single female teachers and the 'married family man' was a recurring motif in discussion of salaries. Mrs Skea touched on the topic in her speech on 'The Status of Women in Teaching' given at an E.I.S. conference. She started by asserting that the very fact that the subject had been put down for discussion indicated that the men teachers were desirous of seeing their women contemporaries in the enjoyment of improved status. She claimed that 'seeing that 55% of the teachers in Scotland are women, there must be something wrong in the system that keeps so many women of force and ability and earnestness in minor positions.' She then said that as far as pay went;

⁵⁶⁰ Govan School Board minutes D-ED 1/4/1/2 9 Aug 1875, p. 75

⁵⁶¹ Govan School Board minutes D-ED 1/4/1/2 11 Oct 1875

⁵⁶² *Dundee Courier and Argos* 11 Feb 1879.

£50 a year for a young educated lady performing arduous and exhaustive work, and who had to dress decently and to meet all the filial and charitable demands, was totally inadequate. It was all very well to say many a man supported a wife and family on less! All she could say that she was sorry for the wife and family. It was high time no trained teacher should have less than £60 to commence with.⁵⁶³

This clearly illustrates that the argument that families were being raised on lesser salaries than that paid to single female teachers was being used.

Corr claims that ‘An examination of the literature on the EIS reveals that there was no ... national campaign headed by women to obtain equal wage rates before 1914.’⁵⁶⁴ This misses the point that women campaigned for parity in training which would enable them to claim equal pay. In 1881 Chalmers presented a paper to the Aberdeen branch of the EIS on ‘A University Training and Degree for Female Teachers.’ From her talk it is clear that she felt that lack of a degree was all that stood between women and high salaries. ‘I do not know if my sisters in the profession who toil cheerfully for £60 or £70 a year know what valuable prizes lie within the reach of fortunate possessors of a University certificate. Let me enumerate a few out of many. The mistress of Gateshead High School has £250 per annum.’⁵⁶⁵ After this speech ‘it was remitted to the committee to agitate for higher education for women in connection with the Normal Schools.’⁵⁶⁶ This is especially interesting given the apparent paucity of male graduate teachers in Aberdeen at the time; although of course, many of the non-graduates had attended University classes whilst at Training College. The ideal of the male graduate teacher clearly held sway despite the reality of non-graduates in the Public Elementaries. Of course, Chalmers’ example was that of the headmistress of an English High School; and jobs in the elite sector of Scottish education were still the reserve of the male graduate. Nevertheless, Chalmers was being somewhat disingenuous here; her own salary at the time, as head of a Public Elementary, was £240 p.a. (her salary will be

⁵⁶³ *Aberdeen Journal* 31 Dec 1896, p6.

⁵⁶⁴ Corr, Helen, “The Sexual Division of Labour in the Scottish Teaching Profession 1872-1914” in Humes and Paterson (eds) *Scottish Culture and Scottish Education 1800-1980* (Edinburgh. John Donald Publishers Ltd 1983).

⁵⁶⁵ *Aberdeen Daily Free Press* 10 Oct 1881 (Skea was being somewhat disingenuous as her own salary at the time was over £200 p.a.)

⁵⁶⁶ *Aberdeen Weekly Journal* 15 Oct 1881, p2.

discussed in the following chapter.) In 1883 the Aberdeen E.I.S circulated a memorial in favour of the foundation of a Chair of Education at Aberdeen University and university education for women teachers.⁵⁶⁷ In 1896 Skea addressed the Annual Congress of the E.I.S. and claimed that;

three things were necessary (for women teachers), and women must agitate till they got them – first, higher training; second, freer range; third, better emoluments...on the grounds of equal training, and on that alone, could women claim equal status with men. Given that, all the rest would follow.⁵⁶⁸

The strategy to gain University education for women as a means of obtaining equal pay may have been naïve – and indeed the subsequent history of the teaching profession shows that University education did not improve female wages – but it was a logical strategy. There may have been no ‘no national campaign headed by women to obtain equal wage rates before 1914.’ But, in fact, women were campaigning to remove what they saw as the barrier to equal wages.

The impact of marriage.

As Anderson has stated,⁵⁶⁹ women usually left teaching on marriage. However, it was not until the First World War that the Marriage Bar, by which women were *obliged* to leave upon marriage, was introduced. During the Victorian period, married women teachers were concentrated within schools run by the Episcopalian church, which actively encouraged married teachers. One example was Annie Singer, teacher of the Girls School at Meiklefolla, Fyvie, who was married with three young children when she was headhunted to become head teacher at St Andrews Girls School, Aberdeen.⁵⁷⁰ She

⁵⁶⁷ *Aberdeen Weekly Journal* 11 June 1883

⁵⁶⁸ *Aberdeen Journal* 31 Dec 1896, p6.

⁵⁶⁹ Anderson, R.D. *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918* Clarendon Press, 1995, p.176.

⁵⁷⁰ See Donald, S *The Incumbents of St Andrew's Chapel & Church Aberdeen*, 2007, Diocese of Aberdeen & Orkney.

subsequently had a further five children whilst teaching.⁵⁷¹ Her daughter Caroline subsequently became a teacher. It was commonplace for headmaster's wives to teach sewing in their husband's school. In Clyne, Mrs Myron was paid £5 p.a. from 1873-1877.⁵⁷² Such part time teaching was rarely described as an occupation on the decennial census returns, and contributes to the under-reporting of women's work. Although outwith the scope of this thesis, it appears that part-time teaching in evening classes was often undertaken by married women. Women who had left to marry, or a headmaster's wife, might also carry out occasional days work in their former school, providing cover in the case of illness. There is no evidence, however, as to how the women saw this; did they regard this as a way to earn a little money or simply as a favour to old friends. As School Boards increasingly regulated the way in which individual schools were governed, such informal cover arrangements decreased.

Adam Moodie was headmaster and his wife Jane Moodie⁵⁷³ an assistant teacher at Butterburn, Dundee, when the School Board took over. Both were certificated teachers. The Moodies had three young children. By 1881, Adam Moodie was teaching at Inch Public School, Fettercairn and his wife was not listed in the census as a teacher. By this time they had seven children aged between 15 and one.⁵⁷⁴ This sort of arrangement seems to have become less usual under the School Boards. An editorial in the *Educational News* commented in 1895 that:

As a general principle, teachers' wives should have nothing to do with school work. There are circumstances in which no fault could be found with the arrangement of husband and wife teaching together. It is sometimes, indeed, practically unavoidable. But as a rule, it is exceedingly objectionable; and it should be officially forbidden, except in special circumstances. The proper place for a wife is her home; and the man who cannot support a wife without making her a Code drudge, should delay marriage

⁵⁷¹ George (b 1866); Robert (1868); Frederick (1869); Caroline (1872); Charles(1874) ; Joseph(1877) ; Annie (1879);Alexander (1881); William (1887); she left teaching whilst pregnant with William, who was the only child to die in infancy).

⁵⁷² Clyne School Board minutes 1 July 1873

⁵⁷³ Jane Watson, father a master baker.

⁵⁷⁴ 1881 census 257 005 007

until his prospects improve.⁵⁷⁵

Teaching did offer women a means to maintain themselves and their families if they were separated or widowed. I have found only three examples of separated women working; Mrs Eliza Lewins had been a teacher prior to her marriage to Dr Lewins.⁵⁷⁶ The couple had five children but appear to have been living separately prior to the birth of their fifth child, Dora, and, indeed, Mrs Lewins had returned to teaching by then. The *Aberdeen Journal* of 10 June 1863 includes a report of the appointment of a teacher to Dr Bell's Girls School. The report stated that there were 34 candidates for the position 'many of them ladies very highly qualified for the situation.' However, the Town Council unanimously voted that the present interim teacher, Mrs Lewins, should be appointed, in consideration of her 'long experience and high character as a teacher'. It is not clear how long Mrs Lewins had been interim teacher at Dr Bell's, but presumably she had worked during her pregnancy with Dora, who was only eight weeks old when her mother's teaching position was made permanent. The Town Council inspected Dr Bell's School annually, and this inspection was reported in the *Aberdeen Journal*. Mrs Lewins was always fulsomely praised.⁵⁷⁷ Lewins taught until her death in 1873. Mrs Jane Crabb(e) in Aberdeen, a mother of three, was separated from her husband.⁵⁷⁸ She taught sewing and, unusually for a sewing teacher, was awarded a pension by Aberdeen School Board when she retired. Both her daughters followed her into teaching.⁵⁷⁹ More dramatic was the career of Mrs Agnes Clunas. Born Agnes Ligertwood, she married architect David Clunas in Edinburgh in 1873.⁵⁸⁰ The couple had two children, Agnes and James, but four days after James' birth, David Clunas was declared bankrupt. He subsequently fled Scotland, leaving his family behind, but was arrested⁵⁸¹ and imprisoned. After his release he moved to America.⁵⁸² Agnes Clunas taught at West Fountainbridge School

⁵⁷⁵ *Educational News* 1895, 26 October 1895, p. 717.

⁵⁷⁶ Eliza Ferguson taught in the West End Academy 1845-50. See *Aberdeen Directories* 1845-50. She married Dr Frederick Lewins in 1850.

⁵⁷⁷ See e.g. *Aberdeen Journal* 30 Oct 1867, p6; *Aberdeen Journal* 21 Oct 1869.

⁵⁷⁸ The 1881 census gives her marital status as "separated from husband". 1881 *St Nicholas*; ED: 11; Page: 27; Line: 23; Roll: *cssct1881_49*.

⁵⁷⁹ Jane and Alice Crabbe.

⁵⁸⁰ Register of Marriages 1873 685/01 0348

⁵⁸¹ *Belfast Newsletter* 3 September 1877.

⁵⁸² http://www.scottisharchitects.org.uk/architect_full.php?id=100312, last accessed 9 April 2013.

Edinburgh, whilst raising her children.⁵⁸³ These three examples show that a married woman who could teach was not left entirely resourceless if her marriage failed.

More common, however, were widowed teachers. In Dundee, Mrs Rogerson, was earning £30pa in 1880.⁵⁸⁴ She was still teaching in Dundee in 1891, at which point she was the only married or widowed female teacher.⁵⁸⁵ Married or widowed women with children had to balance work with family responsibilities; in 1884 Rogerson,⁵⁸⁶ asked for 'several weeks' of leave of absence from Hunter Street School⁵⁸⁷ as her fourteen year old daughter, Christina, had scarlet fever. Christina was herself a pupil teacher; her medical certificate indicated that she would be off ill for four weeks.⁵⁸⁸ (Mrs Annie Singer, mentioned above, also had an extended absence when scarlet fever struck her family; however the school minutes indicate that she was asked to stay away from school as a precaution⁵⁸⁹ – possibly an unmarried teacher living at home with parents and younger siblings might have been in a similar position.) A Miss McLennan was appointed to cover for Mrs Rogerson. Mrs Margaret Sinclair taught briefly at Kinbrace in 1889-90.⁵⁹⁰ Mrs Jane Orr was a widow with three children when she was employed by Govan School Board in 1873.⁵⁹¹ She was presumably an experienced teacher as she was employed on an initial salary of £60, which rose to £65 in 1874 and to £90 in 1875.⁵⁹² In Aberdeen, Jessie Vass Rae⁵⁹³ married school teacher Robert Hyslop in 1890. He died in 1893,⁵⁹⁴ leaving

⁵⁸³ Edinburgh School Board minutes SL/28/2/10 20 Dec 1886 – Tables I and II, pp361-365.

⁵⁸⁴ Dundee School Board minutes, Vol 2, p 256, appendix to minutes of 28 Oct 1880.

⁵⁸⁵ Dundee School Board minutes April 1890-March 1891, p. 472.

⁵⁸⁶ She was born Jane Campbell, a schoolmaster's daughter around 1847. Both her children, Christina and Edward were born in New Zealand. Presumably her husband died there, and she returned to Scotland with her children – I have not been able to trace her husband's death certificate in Scotland.

⁵⁸⁷ Dundee School Board minutes, Vol 3, p. 396, 4 Feb 1884.

⁵⁸⁸ Dundee School Board minutes April 1882-March 1885, 16 Dec 1884, p. 571.

⁵⁸⁹ MS 3730 Minutes of St Andrews Church 25 Oct 1877.

⁵⁹⁰ Kildonan School Board records 20 Jan 1889 and 21 April 1890.

⁵⁹¹ Jane Miller married John Orr, a clerk, in 1859. They had three children; Catherine, Agnes and David. (Marriage date and husband's occupation from the birth certificate of their son David; 1866 644/10/0439.) Jane Orr was widowed in 1869. 1881 census -*Govan Church*; ED: 15; Page: 17; Line: 18; Roll: *cssct1881_254*.

⁵⁹² Govan School Board Staff List, Entry 19.

⁵⁹³ McCall, A.T. *Aberdeen School Board Female Teachers 1872-1901: a biographical list*. Aberdeen and North East Scotland Family History Society 2007, p. 29-30.

⁵⁹⁴ *In Memoriam 1893*, Aberdeen 1894.

her with one child.⁵⁹⁵ She taught cookery; in 1907 her salary was raised from £75 to £80p.a. Widowhood in Victorian times could plunge a family into poverty; a widow's ability to earn a salary as a teacher could avert this. A teaching qualification, therefore, provided not only employment before marriage, or in place of marriage, but also the possibility of earning a good income if the marriage ended through death or separation.

Teaching as a means of transition into other careers.

Whilst the focus of this thesis is on upward social mobility through education and career, it is worth noting that for some women a teaching career was only the first step in a more complex career. Christian Farquharson, whose father was a comb-maker at the time of her birth, but who subsequently became a grocer, trained at Aberdeen Free Church Training College. She combined teaching at Woodside and Kittybrewster schools with left-wing political activism,⁵⁹⁶ being given leave of absence by Aberdeen School Board in September 1900 to attend the International Socialist Congress in Paris, possibly as a delegate. She gave up her teaching career to become a full time political worker in 1902, the same year in which she married Thomas Kennedy,⁵⁹⁷ becoming Christian Farquharson-Kennedy. She has already been mentioned in Chapter Two as a member of Aberdeen School Board.⁵⁹⁸ Her early death in 1917⁵⁹⁹ prevented her from becoming one of the first female M.P.s. As a communist, she would have eschewed the principle of upward social mobility within a capitalist system, but her career brought her into contact with distinguished people and her funeral was attended by many notable figures in Aberdeen's political and philanthropic circles.⁶⁰⁰ (Another politically active teacher, Lila Clunas, combined teaching with political activism. Born in Glasgow, she

⁵⁹⁵ Archibald Forbes Hyslop, born 21 Nov 1892. He became a teacher, an HM Inspector of Schools and also, under the pen-name Forbes Hazelwood, a songwriter. His papers are archived in Aberdeen University; the brief biography provided by Aberdeen University (see <http://archiveshub.ac.uk/data/gb231-ms3423>) names his father but not his mother, despite the fact that he was raised solely by her from infancy.

⁵⁹⁶ E.g. *Aberdeen Weekly Journal* 2 Nov 1896; *Aberdeen Weekly Journal* 27 July 1897. In the latter the *Journal* commented "Miss Farquharson, the young lady who took a prominent part in the carter's strike, is an assistant teacher in Woodside Public School, and is regarded as a clever and capable instructress."

⁵⁹⁷ Andrew Thorpe, 'Kennedy, Thomas (1874–1954)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/59301>, accessed 9 April 2013]

⁵⁹⁸ See page 73.

⁵⁹⁹ See her obituary *Aberdeen Daily Journal* Tues 17 July 1917, p. 2

⁶⁰⁰ See the account of her funeral *Aberdeen Daily Journal* 20 July 1917.

trained as a teacher at Moray House and then taught in Dundee, at Brown Street School. She was a member of the Independent Labour Party and became involved with the suffrage movement in 1906, joining the Women's Freedom League in 1907.)⁶⁰¹

Bessie Craigmyle trained at the Church of Scotland Training College in Aberdeen,⁶⁰² and taught briefly before leaving Scotland to become a lecturer at Bishop Otter College, Chichester and publishing two volumes of poetry. She returned to Aberdeen where she combined teaching languages and working as a translator, being commissioned to edit an edition of Faust and thereafter to translate a volume of German Ballads.⁶⁰³ As teacher training college was the only form of tertiary education readily available, it is unsurprising that it was a component in some non-teaching careers. Indeed, one woman hoped to use teaching as a means of becoming a doctor. Margaret Dale was born in Aberdeen in 1861. Her father was a schoolmaster and the family were comfortably off, but not wealthy; there was no servant in the 1881 census, for example.⁶⁰⁴ Dale attended the Church of Scotland Teacher Training College in Aberdeen and, once qualified, travelled to take up a well-paid post at St Andrews Scotch School, Buenos Ayres⁶⁰⁵ apparently with the intention of saving enough money to fund medical training in Europe.⁶⁰⁶ She died in Argentina in 1887.⁶⁰⁷ Her early death precludes conclusions as to whether she would have been able to access a career in medicine.

One possible 'lad o' pairts' narrative was the example of the lad who travelled abroad to gain a prestigious post, often in the colonies. Teaching gave women a

⁶⁰¹ In 1909 she was a member of a nine woman delegation to Prime Minister Asquith. She was arrested and sentenced to three weeks in prison. She went on hunger strike and was released early. She became a Labour Party Councillor on Dundee Town Council in 1943 and served until 1964. She died in 1968, aged 92. See e.g. Pipes, Ewan, Innes, Reynolds (eds) *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women*, EUP, 2006, p. 77.

⁶⁰² Aberdeen Church of Scotland Training College Class Records, Aberdeen, p. 50.

⁶⁰³ Craigmyle, E. *Faust*, Canterbury Poets series Walter Scott, 1889, and Craigmyle, E. *German ballads*, Canterbury Poets, undated.

⁶⁰⁴ 1881 census 168-1 017 003.

⁶⁰⁵ An advertisement for a female teacher at St Andrews Scotch School, Buenos Ayres in 1881 offered a starting salary of £120 per annum, plus first class passage to Argentina. *The Scotsman* 23 Dec 1881.

⁶⁰⁶ (Need to find principal ref – Aberdeen University Archives) But also - *Aberdeen High School Magazine* 1933, p191

⁶⁰⁷ Cleland, E. (ed) *Aberdeen Church of Scotland Training College Class Records 1874/5 -1894/5*, Aberdeen, Adelphi Press, 1896.

professional basis from which to seek careers abroad, although many women who did so were employed by church agencies, and who were regarded as having a 'vocation' rather than a 'career.' One early example is that of Caroline Elliot Kay, born in Aberdeen in 1828, the daughter of John Kay and Jane Morrice. Her father taught adults in Aberdeen's Bridewell Prison, a post in which he worked co-operatively with the Prison Chaplain. It was poorly paid, with a salary of between £40 and £50 per annum,⁶⁰⁸ but it is clear that Kay, a church elder, was a respected member of the community.⁶⁰⁹ Caroline Kay was described as a teacher in the 1851 census.⁶¹⁰ In 1856 she travelled to take up a post at the Free Church Mission to the Jews, in Constantinople. There she ran a home for destitute Jewish girls. She married the Rev Alexander Tomory, a Hungarian Jewish convert, who had been educated in Edinburgh after his conversion, and was also employed by the Free Church Mission to the Jews.⁶¹¹ She retained an autonomous position within the Mission after her marriage, continuing to work with Jewish girls. Kay's story is interesting; her father's profession suggests that she was middle class, but his salary was poor and she grew up in a working class area. Her father's employment, therefore, might be described as a 'vocation' rather than a career, and the same appears true of Caroline. Three of Tomory's four sons attended university in Scotland, with two becoming doctors and one, Alexander, a Free Church minister. Alexander's wife, Mary MacDonald,⁶¹² had studied medicine in Scotland, although she had not graduated, and was working in the mission field in Calcutta when they met.⁶¹³ One of Caroline's granddaughters, Louise Tomory, graduated in medicine from Aberdeen University in 1919, and had a notable career in South Africa.⁶¹⁴ The Louise Tomory prize is still awarded to the most distinguished female medical graduate at Aberdeen University.⁶¹⁵ Another granddaughter, Peggy,

⁶⁰⁸ Webster, Paul, *Bridewell Prison: the history of Aberdeen's forgotten jail*, Aberdeen, Aberdeen & North East FHS, 2000, p 43.

⁶⁰⁹ see e.g. Webster, Paul, *Bridewell Prison: the history of Aberdeen's forgotten jail*, Aberdeen, Aberdeen & North East FHS, 2000. and MacLaren, A.A., *Religion and Social Class: The Disruption Years in Aberdeen*, London, R.K.P. 1974, p238.

⁶¹⁰ 1851 census, *Old Machar*; ED: 19; Page: 29; Line: 7; Roll: CSSCT1851_41.

⁶¹¹ Obituary from Aberdeen Daily Free Press, reprinted in *In Memoriam 1893*, pp. 225-6.

⁶¹² Born in Calcutta 1868, the daughter of Scottish missionaries. Died March 1935.

⁶¹³ Information on the MacDonald family kindly provided by John Collins, a descendant of Mary MacDonald's relatives, by personal e-mail correspondence with the author.

⁶¹⁴ *Aberdeen University Review*.

⁶¹⁵ <http://www.abdn.ac.uk/registry/prizes/index.php?view=available&type=27#avail>, last accessed 9 April 2013.

nursed in Kalimpong, on the border of India and Nepal.⁶¹⁶ This group of women, Caroline Kay, her daughter-in-law and granddaughters would in themselves make a fascinating study of the role of Scottish women working worldwide. Possibly the ‘career’ aspect of their work has been subsumed within the ‘vocational’ aspect, and helped to keep their achievements hidden.

Many trained certificated women gained responsible positions in the colonies. Examples include Jane G. Wright⁶¹⁷ who became Lady Principal of the Bellevue Seminary, South Africa in 1881; Mary M. Stephen⁶¹⁸ who became Superintendent of the Free Church Boarding School Madras, India in 1884 and Williamina Strachan⁶¹⁹ who became Joint Superintendent of the Christian Girls’ Boarding school Madras, India in 1885. (Stephen and Strachan co-authored ‘Manual of Notes of Lessons in Tamil’ in 1887.) Other examples include Mary Scorgie⁶²⁰ who taught at the Sialkot Mission, Punjab in 1890; Louisa MacDonald, who became Principal of Sydney Women’s College, Australia in 1891; Margaret Stewart Ker who became Principal of the Ladies’ College Nova Scotia in 1892; Jemima Fraser⁶²¹ who became Headmistress of the Church of Scotland Mission School, Madras in 1894; Robina May⁶²² from Dunecht who taught at the Cathedral Girls’ School Pretoria South Africa from 1895; Margaret Glennie⁶²³ taught

⁶¹⁶ Information from John Collins, a descendant of Mary MacDonald’s relatives

⁶¹⁷ Born Insch 25 August 1850. Married Rev Arend H. Hofmeyr 1884, Died 27 Oct 1940. Her brother-in-law Jan Hendrik Hofmeyr “Onze Jan” was married to another Scot, Isabella Murray, sister of Rev Andrew Murray.

⁶¹⁸ Born approx. 1861, the daughter of John Stephen, cattle dealer. Prior to going to India she taught in Shetland, where she gained her LLA degree – see Taylor, Marsali, *Women’s Suffrage in Shetland*, lulu, 2010, p. 73.

⁶¹⁹ Aberdeen Church of Scotland Training College Class Records, Aberdeen, p. 43. She was born approx. 1862 and was living with an uncle, a commercial traveller, in 1881. Old Machar; ED: 38; Page: 28; Line: 18; Roll: cssct1881_54.

⁶²⁰ Aberdeen Church of Scotland Training College Class Records, Aberdeen, pp69-70. Her father was a farmer.

⁶²¹ Aberdeen Church of Scotland Training College Class Records, Aberdeen, p80. Her parents, and subsequently her widowed mother, ran a hotel. In 1881, Jemima was a pupil teacher while her elder sister Margaret was a barmaid. 1881 census -*Old Deer*; ED: 2; Page: 11; Line: 14; Roll: cssct1881_66.

⁶²² Aberdeen Church of Scotland Training College Class Records, Aberdeen, p 108. She was the tenth child of a farm overseer. 1881 census-*Echt*; ED: 5; Page: 1; Line: 15; Roll: CSSCT1871_37. Two sisters became a milliner and a domestic servant. 1891 census *Aberdeen Old Machar*; ED: 40; Page: 6; Line: 3; Roll: CSSCT1891_54.

⁶²³ Aberdeen Church of Scotland Training College Class Records, Aberdeen, p. 45.

in Grahamstown, South Africa, from 1896; Elizabeth McRobert⁶²⁴ taught at the Ladies High School Capetown South Africa from 1896; Mary J Brown⁶²⁵ was appointed first mistress at the Normal College, Cape Town in 1900. These women, insofar as their familial backgrounds can be traced, came from the skilled working classes, or lower middle. Another woman who went abroad was Louise Brebner who was born in 1876 in Forgue, Aberdeenshire. Her father was a church minister, with thirteen children, of whom only one died in infancy. Her father supported women's suffrage and this put the family in contact with several well-connected women. Louise Brebner's younger sister was named Isabella Mayo Brebner, after family friend Isabella Fyvie Mayo, a writer.⁶²⁶ Louise was educated at Forgue Parish school and then at the fee-paying Albyn School in Aberdeen. She qualified as a teacher and then, in 1901, she sailed for South Africa, having accepted a Government appointment for a year as a teacher of Boer children in the Middleburg Concentration camp. She died in South Africa on 28 March 1902.⁶²⁷ Again, her early death precludes any analysis of her career. Although her father's occupation places her in the middle class, as one of twelve surviving children she would have grown up expecting to support herself in adulthood, and may still be considered a potential 'lass o' pairts.' Opportunities in the Empire could go both ways; Effie McCombie⁶²⁸ was born in India and had three Indian great-grandparents. She studied at the Free Church Training College in Aberdeen and applied to Aberdeen School Board for a job as a Certificated Assistant in 1895.⁶²⁹ She was employed initially at Marywell School and then at Ferryhill, before resigning in 1899 'in view of her intention to continue her University Studies.'

⁶²⁴ Aberdeen Church of Scotland Training College Class Records, Aberdeen, p96. Her father was a blacksmith.

⁶²⁵ Mary J Brown taught at Balfour Street School, Dundee, prior to going to Africa.

⁶²⁶ Ewen, Innes, Reynolds, Pipes, (eds) *Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women*, Edinburgh, EUP, 2006, p. 261.

⁶²⁷ *In Memoriam, 1902*. Aberdeen 1902.

⁶²⁸ McCall, A.T. *Aberdeen School Board Female Teachers 1872-1901: a biographical list*. Aberdeen and North East Scotland Family History Society 2007, p. 37

⁶²⁹ Aberdeen School Board minutes 1895, ED 1180/1/1, p. 333

Careers abroad were not confined to the Empire; Caroline Kay, who worked in Smyrna has already been mentioned. She was followed by Marjory Menzies,⁶³⁰ who became Headmistress of the Jewish Mission School, Smyrna in 1886 and Jeannie Bennett⁶³¹ who became Head Teacher of the Church of Scotland Mission School, Constantinople in 1888. Another woman who is described as having had a career in America almost accidentally is Williamina Stevens, born in Dundee in 1857.⁶³² Her father had a shop which sold picture frames, and later became a jeweller. After his death, her mother worked as a dressmaker. Stevens became a pupil teacher, and taught until her marriage at the age of twenty. In 1877 she married James Orr Fleming and the couple emigrated to America the following year. Her marriage collapsed whilst she was pregnant and she found employment as a housekeeper to Professor Edward Pickering, director of the Harvard College Observatory in Boston. In 1881 she and her son were back in Dundee.⁶³³ She returned to America and was employed at the observatory as an office worker. She was then given the task of cataloguing and classifying stars. In nine years, she catalogued more than 10,000 stars, including 59 gaseous nebulae, over 310 variable stars and 10 novae. In 1899 she was appointed Curator of Astronomical Photographs, the first woman to hold a formal appointment at Harvard. Although Fleming had not emigrated seeking a career initially, her return to America after her visit home in 1881 suggests that she was going to establish a future for herself.⁶³⁴

Other women saw teaching as a vocation which ultimately resulted in their going abroad. Clerk's daughter, Maggie Gray⁶³⁵ trained as a teacher, although it is not clear where she trained. In 1872 she started writing to a friend, Robert Laws, who had gone to Edinburgh to study medicine and theology. Several years later she and Robert married and became a well-known missionary couple. As a result, her letters to Robert have been preserved in an archive. In 1873 she was appointed school teacher at Crimond, on a

⁶³⁰ Aberdeen Church of Scotland Training College Class Records, Aberdeen, p52. Her father was a millwright.

⁶³¹ Aberdeen Church of Scotland Training College Class Records, Aberdeen, p66. Her father was a stonecutter. She subsequently married Dr A Grant.

⁶³² Pipes, Ewan, Innes, Reynolds (eds) *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women*, EUP, 2006, p121.

⁶³³ 1881 census 282-4 34 1

⁶³⁴ 1881 census *Dundee*; ED: 34; Page: 1; Line: 5; Roll: *cssct1881_88*.

⁶³⁵ Pipes, Ewan, Innes, Reynolds (eds) *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women*, EUP, 2006 pp. 201-2

salary of £40.00pa. She wrote to Robert Laws that there had been several applications for the position. Gray clearly saw teaching as a vocation, writing to Laws ‘Thanks for your congratulations; and beyond them for the encouragement you give me to lean on the Lord for all needed help in such a responsible position as I feel it shall be.’⁶³⁶ She intended to teach without recourse to corporal punishment, but to manage her pupils in ‘another way’ (prayer presumably, as she refers to praying for strength and patience whilst dealing with a difficult pupil.)⁶³⁷ She was conscious in church that the schoolmistress was an object of interest.⁶³⁸ As a missionary’s wife she learnt, taught and produced educational material in the local language Chinyanja. Although her teaching qualification enhanced her status as missionary wife, and enabled her to be upwardly socially mobile through her marriage to a medical missionary, could she be described as a ‘lass o’ pairts’? I would argue that were she male, her achievements would certainly enable her to be so characterised.

In conclusion I would argue that teaching, often characterised by its low pay and poor prospects for women, nevertheless did confer many of the opportunities accessed by the ‘lad o’ pairts.’ For most women, teaching represented upward social mobility, leaving behind the often manual labour of the skilled working class backgrounds of their childhood. For those teachers whose sisters worked in the jute industry, or as domestic servants, or in precarious trades such as dress-making or millinery which were notoriously susceptible to economic depressions, teaching clearly showed them to have moved in an upwards social trajectory. Teaching had a clear structure and opportunities for increased pay through qualifications. Moreover, it conferred opportunities to travel to outposts of the Empire, to take up posts in schools worldwide. I will now turn to an examination of teaching careers in each of the five areas under discussion in this study.

Kildonan, Loth and Clyne

Prior to 1872, a Miss Sutherland ran a school for girls in Brora, and a mother and daughter, both named Ellen Campbell, ran a school in Helmsdale. Miss Sutherland

⁶³⁶ Aberdeen University Archives MS 3290/1/13 3 Sept 1873.

⁶³⁷ Aberdeen University Archives MS 3290 / 1/20 undated.

⁶³⁸ Aberdeen University Archives MS 3290 / 1/18 20 Oct 1873.

ultimately became a sewing teacher under Clyne School Board. I have not been able to discover anything about the Mrs and Miss Campbell's school, but presume that it was successful as it continued for twenty years. At the outset of the post-1872 period, all the teachers were male, other than the sewing teachers, whose wages were very small. Mary McBeath, for example, was paid £3 10s p.a. as sewing teacher at the small school at Doll⁶³⁹ and Miss Jessie Sutherland was appointed sewing mistress at Clyne in 1879, on a salary of £6.00 p.a. (replacing Mrs Myron, the head teacher's wife.)⁶⁴⁰ However, the School Board quickly started to staff the small schools in the three parishes with women. This was because needlework was a compulsory part of the curriculum, and could not be taught by a man. In many single teacher schools, sewing would be taught by the male teacher's wife, or another local woman. However the salaries on offer in east Sutherland were insufficient to attract a married man, and the local, scattered, population could not produce a suitable woman. Therefore, these posts were offered exclusively to women who could teach the entire curriculum to the school. The School Board records show that parents objected to female teachers. In 1875, for example, parents refused to accept the appointment of a female teacher at Doll School, Clyne, and at Kilbrair. However, as detailed in Chapter One, there was a general campaign of parents objecting to the School Boards, and so this may not have reflected a genuine prejudice. The turnover of teachers in the single-teacher schools was extremely high. At Kinbrace, for example, Miss Leitch resigned in 1884. Her replacement Maggie McLennan resigned in 1888.⁶⁴¹ Mrs Margaret Sinclair was appointed⁶⁴² but, following complaints from parents she was sacked.⁶⁴³ Miss I.I. Muir was appointed⁶⁴⁴ but asked to resign the following year.⁶⁴⁵

Finally, women became employed as teachers in the Public Schools in Brora and Helmsdale, but again, the turnover was high. This may have been due to the poor salaries, or possibly those who came into the area from elsewhere, may have found it difficult to settle. Miss Pike was appointed to Helmsdale School on £70 p.a. 'rather more

⁶³⁹ Clyne School Board minutes 14 Dec 1875

⁶⁴⁰ Clyne School Board minutes 13 Nov 1878 and 7 Feb 1879.

⁶⁴¹ Kildonan School Board minutes 14 Nov 1888.

⁶⁴² Kildonan School Board minutes 30 Jan 1889.

⁶⁴³ Kildonan School Board minutes 21 April 1890.

⁶⁴⁴ Kildonan School Board minutes 8 Sept 1890.

⁶⁴⁵ Kildonan School Board minutes 11 Aug 1891.

than was originally intended should be given to a female teacher⁶⁴⁶ but she resigned less than two years later. The School Board resolved to place advertisements in the Scotsman, the Ensign and the Highland News for a replacement, indicating that they were casting their net wide.⁶⁴⁷ Clyne School Board, which had lamented that in 1882 there was ‘no teacher under this Board capable of imparting the higher branches’⁶⁴⁸ was employing more female than male teachers by 1895; seven female⁶⁴⁹ and five male.⁶⁵⁰

Familial relationships, rather than formal training, appear to have been the route into teaching from Kildonan, Loth and Clyne. Johan MacKay, born Kildonan, assisted her elder brother Cameron MacKay at Halkirk, Caithness, in 1881, although when he subsequently became a minister, she became his housekeeper.⁶⁵¹ Georgina McDonald, born Loth, in 1846, taught in her father’s school at Fordoun in 1881⁶⁵² and Jessie Gilchrist taught in her father’s school at Brora.⁶⁵³ Christina McMillan, whose father had been a teacher in Kildonan, was a teacher at Resolis, Ross and Cromarty in 1891⁶⁵⁴ and an Elementary School teacher in New Cumnock, Ayrshire in 1901.⁶⁵⁵ Annabella MacKay, a shepherd’s daughter was a teacher in Snizort in 1881. I have still to discover if she was a trained teacher. Difficulties in attracting a teacher to the small school at Beau Armin resulted in nineteen year old Maggie Baillie being appointed in 1895,⁶⁵⁶ followed by Jessie MacKay, described as the daughter of one of the parents in the district, in 1900.⁶⁵⁷

In conclusion, in east Sutherland, the School Boards offered low pay to female teachers, and the teachers they did employ tended to stay for only a short time, unless they had family ties to the area. In addition to the poor rates of pay, the isolation

⁶⁴⁶ Kildonan School Board minutes 3 Feb 1887.

⁶⁴⁷ Kildonan School Board minutes 14 Nov 1888.

⁶⁴⁸ Clyne School Board minutes 2 May 1882.

⁶⁴⁹ Misses Ross, C. Sutherland, H. Baillie, McDonald, I. Ross, McBeath and M. Baillie.

⁶⁵⁰ Clyne School Board minutes 5 April 1895.

⁶⁵¹ 1901 census *Penpont*; ED: 7; Page: 2; Line: 2; Roll: *CSSCT1901_434*.

⁶⁵² 1871 census *Fordoun*; ED: 2; Page: 9; Line: 15; Roll: *CSSCT1871_45* and 1881 census *Fordoun*; ED: 2; Page: 8; Line: 3; Roll: *cssct1881_73*.

⁶⁵³ 1881 census *Clyne*; ED: 4; Page: 2; Line: 7; Roll: *cssct1881_12*.

⁶⁵⁴ 1891 census Resolis 4-2-19

⁶⁵⁵ 1901 census New Cumnock 1-31-4

⁶⁵⁶ By 1901 Maggie Baillie was a dressmaker. *Clyne*; ED: 4; Page: 10; Line: 17; Roll: *CSSCT1901_13*.

⁶⁵⁷ Clyne School Board minutes 12 March 1900.

experienced in a remote area was difficult for a trained teacher, who would have spent at least two years living in either Aberdeen, Edinburgh or Glasgow. The conditions were not conducive to upward social mobility, although may have represented a step upwards prior to gaining a better post elsewhere.

Aberdeen

In 1853, an Aberdeen Directory⁶⁵⁸ listed 117 teachers, of whom 63 were male and 54 female. Additionally, there were three teachers of Drawing, all male, and fifteen teachers of music, of whom 10 were male, five female. This suggests that, although the majority of teachers in Aberdeen were male, the proportion was less than elsewhere. It is reasonable to assume that the lowest level of teachers, were unlikely to have had an entry in the Trades Directory. Given the variety of schools before 1872, it follows that there was no standard female teacher; teachers varied in age, marital status and family background. At the Annual Congress of the Educational Institute for Scotland, held in Aberdeen in 1896, one of the speakers, Mrs Skea recalled;

In the early part of the century there were two classes of women teachers. One class kept the never-to-be-forgotten ‘dames’ schools, where the hornbook, the Shorter Catechism, and the proverbs of Solomon supplied the literary pabulum, the three legged stool and the tawse constituted the school apparatus while one article of furniture in the school room bore a suspicious resemblance to another, which some here may have seen as it was constructed *A double debt to pay, A bed by night, a chest of drawers by day*. The members of the other class were ultra genteel in their notions. They usually belonged to families who had seen better days and often looked upon teaching as a social degradation only to be taken up between them and want. Legislation rescued the masses from the former class of erstwhile teachers long before a mistaken idea of gentility loosened its hold of the latter class.⁶⁵⁹

⁶⁵⁸ Cornwalls New Aberdeen Directory 1853-54

⁶⁵⁹ *Aberdeen Journal* 31 Dec 1896.

The certificated and occasionally trained, female teacher formed a growing third class of teacher, primarily teaching in the church-run sessional schools, or charity schools. Their pay was comparable to the male teachers in these schools, but there was one important difference between male and female careers prior to 1872 was that men teaching in the church schools could expect to progress onto teaching at more prestigious schools, such as the boys only Aberdeen Grammar School, or Robert Gordon's Hospital (now Robert Gordon's College).

Aberdeen School Board took over schools and worked towards transforming them into a standard ideal. This ideal school was large, with a structured hierarchy. The continually expanding educational system in Aberdeen, coupled with the steady loss of women who left the profession to get married ensured plenty of jobs.⁶⁶⁰ By 1896, Aberdeen's twenty five elementary schools employed 55 male teachers and 267 female. Additionally, there were 8 male pupil-teachers and 123 female pupil-teachers; by the end of the Victorian period, the teaching profession had become thoroughly feminised numerically although, as will be discussed in Chapter Six, the majority of Head teacher posts were occupied by men. However, upward social mobility was possible; Elizabeth I.A. Mustard was born in Aberdeen on 27 Feb 1862, the daughter of Andrew Mustard, commercial clerk, and Elizabeth Munro. The family were members of the Free Church. She was educated at Mr McBain's Little Belmont Street School, (subsequently Aberdeen High School for Girls') Aberdeen, and then attended Class VIII of the Church of Scotland Training College, having come first in the entrance exam. She graduated LLA (St Andrews) in 1884. She gained her teaching certificate in 1885, and taught at the Middle School from 1883 to 1886. On 29 June 1886, she married one of her colleagues, James C. Barnett, a widower with two daughters who was, at 44, twenty years her senior. She stopped teaching on marriage but effectively entered on a career of good works and writing. When she died, her two obituaries were written by Clementina Esslemont, wife of the M.P. for Aberdeen South, and by Lady Aberdeen. Her education had created many opportunities.

⁶⁶⁰ See e.g. McCall, A.T. *Aberdeen School Board Female Teachers 1872-1901: a biographical list*. Aberdeen and North East Scotland Family History Society 2007

In conclusion, in Aberdeen, teaching posts were readily available, and paid at a rate which was generally higher than that paid to skilled tradesman, thus ensuring a degree of upward social mobility to most female teachers. The further upward social mobility by promotion will be discussed in the next chapter.

Dundee

Dundee Directories suggest that there was a lower proportion of female teachers there than in Aberdeen. In the 1834 directory, only six out of 62 teachers listed were female⁶⁶¹ and 16 out of 80 in 1845⁶⁶² By 1857 the proportion was increasing; 38 out of 91.⁶⁶³ (A similar number of women, 36, were listed in the directory as spirit-dealers.)⁶⁶⁴ Again, there is the caveat that small poor-quality day schools were less likely to advertise in a directory. In the previous chapter, the reliance of most schools in Dundee on pupil teachers was noted, and it was suggested that the heavy teaching load and low ratio between certificated staff and pupil teachers may have explained the poor results obtained by Dundee girls in the Entrance examination to teacher training college. In this chapter, we will discover another corollary of the high number of pupil teachers, namely that they reduced demand for trained teachers. This meant that there were fewer jobs for teachers prior to, and in the early years of, the 1872 Act. In 1877, Dundee School Board, apart from headteachers, employed 18 assistants, 1 ex-pupil teacher, 73 pupil teachers and 12 monitors.⁶⁶⁵ The number of assistants increased steadily; by March 1878 there were 26 assistants although four schools (Blackscroft, Long Wynd, St Enochs, Wallacetown) continued to be staffed solely by headteachers and pupil teachers.⁶⁶⁶ Table 5.4 shows that the number of assistant teachers increased steadily, whilst the number of pupil teachers remained fairly constant. This meant that there was an increasing number of jobs for teachers, although many vacancies were filled as they arose by keeping a pupil

⁶⁶¹ *Dundee Directory 1834.*

⁶⁶² *Dundee Directory 1845.*

⁶⁶³ *Dundee Directory 1856/7*, pp 187-8.

⁶⁶⁴ *Dundee Directory 1856/7*, pp184-86. The overall number of spirit dealers was much higher, however, 175 as opposed to 91 teachers.

⁶⁶⁵ Dundee School Board minutes, Vol 1, p. 299, 27 Aug 1877.

⁶⁶⁶ Dundee School Board minutes, Vol. 1, p. 394, 28 Mar 1878.

teacher on as an ex-pupil teacher, or indeed making other arrangements. For example, in 1879, Miss Smith of Dudhope School informed the School Board that she had too many pupils for her current staff of three pupil teachers, but not enough to justify employing an assistant. Instead she proposed to employ her sister, Christina Smith, on a salary of £20 p.a. with the intention that Christina would work towards gaining certification.⁶⁶⁷ The School Board minutes record a steady stream of pupil teachers kept on, although some were kept on simply long enough to let them attempt the training college entrance examination. This led to a rapid turnover of staff. As the number of assistants increased, so did the proportion of female to male. In 1880, there were 41 assistants, of whom 26 were female. Of these, nine were ex-pupil teachers and therefore not qualified. Brown Street School had an all-female staff in 1882, with a female head teacher, eight assistants and seven pupil teachers.

Table 5.4 The number of assistant teachers and pupil teachers in Public Elementary Schools, employed by Dundee School Board. The School Board did not produce separate figures for male and female.

	1877	1878	1879	1881	1881	1882	1883 ⁶⁶⁸	1885 ⁶⁶⁹
Assistants (both sexes) (including ex-PTs)	19	26	25	41	46	52	54	81
Pupil teachers (both sexes)	73	79	72	-	73	65	67	73

⁶⁶⁷ Dundee School Board minutes, Vol 1, p. 577, 27 Jan 1879.

⁶⁶⁸ Dundee School Board minutes, Vol 3, p. 216, appendix to minutes of 5 Mar 1883.

⁶⁶⁹ Dundee School Board minutes, Vol 3, p. 638, appendix to minutes of 30 Mar 1885.

Assistant teachers were not well paid in Dundee, although conversely principal teachers could earn substantial salaries. The Board themselves were aware of this. In 1875 they wrote to other Boards seeking advice on salaries and noted ‘compared with Dundee, the Female Teachers in towns of similar character and standing, are upon the whole better paid.’⁶⁷⁰ They then noted ‘While the salaries of the Female Teachers in the Board Schools are only about £70 a year, the Head Teachers have much higher salaries.’⁶⁷¹ Most of the ex-pupil teachers were paid £30p.a, with Mary Imrie⁶⁷² earning £35p.a, Euphemia Black earning £36p.a. and Jessie Caskie about to be paid £40p.a.⁶⁷³ Employment at conclusion of the pupil teachership was readily available; storekeepers daughter, Elizabeth Robbie, aged 18, was appointed as an ex-PT on a salary of £30 p.a. to Clepington School, in 1878 Two years later she sat the examination for teacher training college.⁶⁷⁴ Catherine J Ferguson⁶⁷⁵, Hill Street School, was appointed an ex-PT on a salary of £26 p.a.⁶⁷⁶ Annie Napier was kept on at Glebelands in 1885,⁶⁷⁷ she was still a teacher in 1901, as was her younger sister Catherine.⁶⁷⁸ Whilst untrained female teachers were poorly paid it did not necessarily deter them. For example, Isabella S. Mills,⁶⁷⁹ aged 22, was appointed to Glebelands School on a salary of £30 p.a. in 1878.⁶⁸⁰ Mills was part of a generally upwardly mobile family;⁶⁸¹ her low salary did not deter her younger sisters, three of whom were pupil teachers in 1881.⁶⁸² Mills salary was increased to £45 in 1879.⁶⁸³ It was then increased again to £50pa in 1880.⁶⁸⁴ However, others left for better

⁶⁷⁰ Dundee School Board minutes, Vol 1, p. 5, 16 Dec 1875.

⁶⁷¹ Dundee School Board minutes, Vol 1, p. 6, 16 Dec 1875.

⁶⁷² Mary D Imrie, born approx. 1853, the youngest of a large family, whose father had died prior to the 1861 census. *Dundee*; ED: 28; Page: 5; Line: 23; Roll: *CSSCT1861_39*. Imrie was still teaching in 1901. Older sister Helen was a teacher in 1871.

⁶⁷³ Dundee School Board minutes, Vol 2, p. 256-7, appendix to minutes of 28 Oct 1880.

⁶⁷⁴ Dundee School Board minutes, Vol 2, p196, 31 May 1880.

⁶⁷⁵ Her father was a shoemaker. She was still a teacher in 1901.

⁶⁷⁶ Dundee School Board minutes 30 Jan 1882, p456.

⁶⁷⁷ Dundee School Board minutes, Vol 3, p609, 9 Feb 1885.

⁶⁷⁸ 1901 census *St Andrew*; ED: 63; Page: 23; Line: 23; Roll: *CSSCT1901_103*.

⁶⁷⁹ Isabella Smith Mills, born 22 Jan 1856.

⁶⁸⁰ *The Dundee Courier & Argus and Northern Warder* (Dundee, Scotland), Tuesday, April 02, 1878

⁶⁸¹ Mills' father was a grocer; it is impossible to guess at the family income, but the family did not have a servant in 1861, 1871 or 1881.

⁶⁸² 1881 census Dundee 282-4 023 006.

⁶⁸³ Dundee School Board minutes, Vol 1, p547, 19 March 1879.

⁶⁸⁴ Dundee School Board minutes, Vol 2, p195, 31 May 1880.

paid work elsewhere; Annie T. Pyott,⁶⁸⁵ certificated assistant at Dudhope, left for a more lucrative situation in 1884.

The salaries paid to trained, certificated teachers were also comparatively low, compared to other parts of Scotland; Helen Alexander resigned from Balfour St School to be replaced by Georgina Dick, from the Free Church Training College on 1 Jan 1877⁶⁸⁶ on a salary of only £40 p.a.⁶⁸⁷ However by 1881 Dick had left Dundee and was teaching in Kettins. Similarly, Agnes Webster, who had just completed training at Moray House, was appointed to replace Elizabeth Deas, assistant at Hunter Street School, on a salary of £40 p.a. in 1877.⁶⁸⁸ Salaries gradually increased; Barbara B Porter, newly trained, became an assistant at Balfour Street on £60 p.a. in 1882.⁶⁸⁹ She was still a teacher in 1901. Ada B Bertie, Liff Road, first employed by Dundee School Board in 1894, was trained and certificated and earning £80 in 1901.⁶⁹⁰

The salaries of the female assistants were also low; seven earned only £30. The best paid, Eliza Shaw, earned £149, but this is misleading because, although described as an assistant, she was the *de facto* Infant Mistress of Brown Street School, and will be discussed in the following chapter. Euphemia Young⁶⁹¹ was the second highest, on £75p.a. This was close to the salary of the male assistants, the worst paid five of whom earned £80p.a.

⁶⁸⁵ She married teacher Robert Jackson in 1888.

⁶⁸⁶ Dundee School Board minutes 11 Dec 1876. Helen Alexander married teacher George Yule in 1878.

⁶⁸⁷ Dundee School Board minutes 18 Dec 1876.

⁶⁸⁸ Dundee School Board minutes 15 Jan 1877.

⁶⁸⁹ Dundee School Board minutes 30 Jan 1882, p456.

⁶⁹⁰ Dundee School Board minutes 1901, p. 613

⁶⁹¹ Euphemia Young, born approx. 1846. Her father was a master mariner. By 1901 Young was a head teacher.

Table 5.5 Teachers employed by Dundee School Board April 1890. These figures include both the teachers in the Public Elementary Schools and in Harris Academy.⁶⁹²

	Male	Female	Total
Trained, certificated	74	66	140
Untrained certificated	9	34	43
Ex-pupil teacher	4	49	53
Pupil teachers	30	85	115
Total	117	149	236

Many of Dundee's teachers were poorly qualified, but conversely, several attained the degree of LLA. Dundee's proximity to St Andrews may have boosted the popularity of the LLA degree. Sisters Margaret Bella and Jessie Kidd gained the LLA in 1888 and 1891 respectively.⁶⁹³ Their father was a shipping agent, and the family employed servants. Margaret became a teacher at Brown Street School. In 1891 she sought, and gained the permission of the School Board to leave school at 4 o'clock to attend Botany Class at the University.⁶⁹⁴ Margaret married in 1902 and does not appear to have continued to work as a teacher.⁶⁹⁵ Pilot's daughter Ada J.D. Mills, a pupil at Dundee High School, gained the LLA in 1890. She became a School Board teacher. Other Dundee teachers who gained the LLA include Miss C. Smith, Harris Academy; Jessie Fairlie, Harris Academy;⁶⁹⁶ Davina Matthew⁶⁹⁷, Dudhope School; and Annie Elder and Jane Sime, both teachers at Rosebank School.⁶⁹⁸ The first graduate female teacher appears to have been Mary C Macdonald MA,⁶⁹⁹ who was both trained and certificated but yet employed in 1899 on a salary of only £60 p.a. which increased to £70 p.a. in 1901.

⁶⁹² Dundee School Board minutes, April 1889-April 1890, p. 282.

⁶⁹³ Information supplied by Lis Smith, St Andrews University.

⁶⁹⁴ Dundee School Board minutes 1891-2, p. 30.

⁶⁹⁵ Family information from correspondence with Pat Oakes and David Murie.

⁶⁹⁶ Jessie Fairlie's niece, Margaret Fairlie, became Scotland's first female University Professor.

⁶⁹⁷ Her father was a grocer and tea merchant.

⁶⁹⁸ Dundee School Board minutes 1891-92, p.169.

⁶⁹⁹ She was the second of nine children, whose widowed mother was a music teacher. Her younger sister Elizabeth was a medical student.

Most female teachers came from the lower middle classes, but some came from the working classes. Marjory Baird was born in 1849 in Dundee. She was the eldest of at least three children. Her father, George Baird, was a loom mechanic in a linen factory. She became a certificated teacher and in 1877 she was appointed female teacher at Long Wynd School. This was one of the smaller schools and her salary was approximately £60 p.a.⁷⁰⁰ In 1888 she was considered for the post of certificated female assistant at Rosebank School on a salary of £100 p.a. though it is not clear if she was appointed.⁷⁰¹ Her younger brother George, born 1854, also became a teacher. By 1901 Baird was providing a home for her widowed mother, and had a domestic servant. Baird died in 1940, aged 91.⁷⁰²

In conclusion, whilst teaching was a more attractive employment option for women than working in the jute industry, where wages could be as low as 8s 6d, the salaries paid to unpromoted women appear not to have been sufficient to enable them to be upwardly socially mobile. Promoted posts, as we will see in the following chapter, were generously paid. In order to follow the 'lass o' pairs' route in Dundee, a teacher had to obtain one of the few promoted posts available.

Govan

Although the number of private schools existing after the School Board took over suggests that there must have been women teaching in Govan, unlike Aberdeen, Dundee and Edinburgh, there are no Post Office Directories to give an estimate of either number or ratio. However, the School Board records noted that in 1874, 94 children were attending Miss Dickie's Industrial School and 19 were attending Miss McArthur's Windsor School.⁷⁰³ At the outset of 1875, Govan School Board employed 18 male

⁷⁰⁰ *The Dundee Courier & Argus and Northern Warder* (Dundee, Scotland), 3 July, 1877.

⁷⁰¹ *The Dundee Courier & Argus* (Dundee, Scotland), 7 August, 1888

⁷⁰² Death certificate 1940 282/ 05 00112

⁷⁰³ Govan School Board minutes Vol 1 12 Oct 1874, p149.

teachers, 12 female teachers, 48 pupil teachers and 10 monitors.⁷⁰⁴ By early 1876, this had risen to 37 male teachers, 15 female, 64 pupil teachers and 7 monitors,⁷⁰⁵ which shows a remarkable surge in the demand for, and availability of, male teachers.

Salaries were higher than Dundee and similar to Aberdeen. Ex-PTs were initially paid £30 p.a., the same salary as in Dundee, but this rose to £35 p.a. in 1876. Moreover, ex-PTs, as stated above, were encouraged to become certificated, and rewarded with a pay rise when they did so. Jessie Laird was employed straight from the Church of Scotland Normal College to be an assistant at Lambhill School in 1875, on a salary of £60.⁷⁰⁶ She came from an upwardly mobile family; her father, Alexander, was a printer compositor. Her younger sister, Christina, followed her into teaching. However, the number of female teachers recruited from the Training Colleges was low. As in Dundee and Aberdeen, upward social mobility was possible for trained, certificated teachers and, indeed, for untrained, certificated teachers, but promoted posts, which will be discussed in the next chapter, offered a real prospect for the ‘lass o’ pairts’ in Govan.

Edinburgh

The four areas already examined were dwarfed numerically by Edinburgh. By 1898, Edinburgh School Board employed 31 headmasters, 29 Infant mistresses, 507 assistants, 235 pupil teachers, 9 singing masters, 4 cookery teachers and 14 instructors.⁷⁰⁷ Additionally, there were many other women teaching in private schools. It was estimated that in 1898 there were 500 teachers in Edinburgh who were not members of the EIS, of whom 240 taught in non-School Board schools.⁷⁰⁸

Salaries were higher in Edinburgh than elsewhere. Indeed, they were a by-word for well-paid female staff. The *Pall Mall Gazette* criticised spending on education in Scotland: ‘By the Edinburgh School Board, salaries have been assigned to female

⁷⁰⁴ Govan School Board minutes Vol 1 11 Jan 1875, p 182.

⁷⁰⁵ Govan School Board minutes D-ED 1/4/1/2, 14 Feb 1876, p 123.

⁷⁰⁶ Govan School Board minutes

⁷⁰⁷ *Glasgow Herald* 9 June 1898

⁷⁰⁸ *Glasgow Herald* 4 April 1898.

teachers above the market price; and the defence has been an appeal to women's rights by the female contingent of the Board.⁷⁰⁹ In 1897, a report to the Edinburgh School Board claimed that of 36 female assistants earning over £150 p.a. in Scotland, 26 were in Edinburgh, and of the 16 earning over £200 p.a., 14 were in Edinburgh. This report referred to 'assistant teachers' and presumably did not include head teachers, although it may have included Infant Mistresses.⁷¹⁰ An editorial in *The Scotsman* asked;

What about the ratepayers? Every humane person must sympathise with the movement which is making it possible for clever women to earn their livings alongside of men in professions for which they are qualified. But the question here is a practical one. The Edinburgh School Board already pays higher salaries than any other Board in Scotland...To many it may appear that a salary of £110 is for elementary school work a very fair sum as female labour is now paid. ...it is surely absurd to talk about the scale of payments being unfair or unequal to the merits of the Board's female servants.⁷¹¹

Assistants salaries started at £65 on completion of Training College and rose steadily, although the starting salary itself remained static for most of the period. In Edinburgh, therefore, upward social mobility for female teachers was not solely reliant on obtaining a promoted post. Qualifications were encouraged, and many Edinburgh school teachers gained the LLA. Margaret Riach,⁷¹² LLA, for example, was an assistant at Dalry. She was first employed by Edinburgh School Board on 22 Nov 1880⁷¹³, aged 30. In 1886 her salary of £80 p.a. rose to £92. In the following chapter, I will examine the women in promoted posts in Edinburgh, who were amongst the elite of Scotland's female teaching staff.

Conclusion

In conclusion, in this chapter I have examined whether teaching, without obtaining a promoted post, could provide a means by which a woman could follow the 'lass o' pairts' route to upward social mobility through her career. Jobs were readily

⁷⁰⁹ *Pall Mall Gazette* 2 May 1879.

⁷¹⁰ *The Scotsman* 23 Nov 1897, p. 8.

⁷¹¹ *The Scotsman* 20 Jan 1897.

⁷¹² Her father was a schoolmaster, who died before Margaret became a teacher.

⁷¹³ Edinburgh School Board minutes, SL28/2/10, table attached to minutes of 20 Dec 1886, pp. 361-365.

available, although some were in unpopular localities. Women in small rural single teacher schools, such as those in east Sutherland, were likely to receive lower pay, but to have accommodation provided. Salaries varied according to area, with salaries in Dundee generally low, but better in Govan and Aberdeen and much higher in Edinburgh. Teaching conferred not only good salaries but, in the absence of other forms of tertiary education, could be used as an entry point into other occupations. Moreover, the burgeoning Empire created opportunities world wide for teachers. Scotswomen could be found worldwide, from Australia to Canada, from India to Africa teaching in mission schools, running orphanages and forging educational provision. Teaching, too, provided one of the rare possibilities for widows and women living apart from their husbands to maintain their families and prevent the descent into poverty. Indeed, given the high number of teachers who were themselves raised by a widowed mother, much of the impetus towards obtaining a career might be underpinned by the desire to safeguard against downward social mobility as much as an aspiration for upward social mobility. It seems fair to conclude that non-promoted teaching posts held out the possibility of promotion and increased social status, but also could enable a woman to some extent to be a 'lass o' pairts' in themselves.

Chapter Six

Female Teachers in Promoted Posts.

Introduction

The stages of a teaching career have been examined throughout this thesis. Pupil teaching, which employed tens of thousands of girls in the second half of the nineteenth century, offered them the opportunity to extend their education up to the age of eighteen, whilst being paid a modest salary. Of these tens of thousands, an increasing number sat the Entrance examination for Teacher Training College. By the end of the period, over one thousand girls were sitting this examination every year. Of these, several hundred would pass and attend college; the total number over the period would have amounted to several thousand. Once trained, these women would undertake a probationary period of teaching until they gained their certificate and became part of the elite of Scotland's female teaching profession, the trained, certificated teacher, entering into an expanding profession. Further qualifications were possible, such as Drawing certificates and the degree of LLA. For some women, their teaching careers ended on marriage, or were cut short by ill health, whilst others taught for forty years until retirement. In this chapter, I propose to examine the pinnacle of achievement; the promoted post. Promotion in teaching was very important, because there was a considerable difference in salary between promoted and non-promoted posts. Indeed, it was argued that men would not go into teaching unless they felt sure they would get a promoted post eventually, as the salaries for non-promoted staff were low. A male head teacher in a large Board School in Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Dundee or Govan could earn £350 p.a., the deputy head half that, but an unpromoted teacher was usually paid under £100pa. Whilst there was considerable discussion of the problems of attracting men into the teaching profession unless the enticement of a well-paid promoted post was a realistic ultimate prospect, there was no such concern regarding women whom, it was assumed, were entering the profession with no ambition beyond that of classroom teacher. Nevertheless, some women did achieve promoted posts, These women are the most likely to represent the 'lass o' pairts' in the Scottish Victorian teaching profession, and it is these women in promoted posts whom I intend to discuss now. In this chapter I propose to examine the

different types of promoted post available to women and to discuss the salaries attached to such posts. I also intend to examine other markers of high professional status, such as active participation in the E.I. S.) I then propose to describe the lives of some of these women from the different areas under discussion in this thesis to discover women who might be described as a ‘lass o’pairs.’

Promoted posts

There were different categories of promoted post. The post of Infant Mistress was exclusively female and effectively ring-fenced a promoted post for women. Other promoted posts were designated differently in different areas; these included Second Master / Mistress (i.e. Deputy Head teacher) and First Assistant. The highest pinnacle of promotion was that of Headteacher. The different types of school in existence prior to 1872 had different teaching structures, although schools which received state-aid had to conform to certain requirements regarding, for example, the employment of pupil-teachers.

As already discussed, the Education (Scotland) Act 1872, was the start of a process by which schools came under the control of the School Board. Many female teachers continued to teach as before, until such time as the School Board assimilated their schools. Of the five areas examined in this thesis, this was particularly the case in Dundee, which continued to have many small schools outwith School Board control after 1872, often with female Head teachers. For example, Miss Crabbe was head teacher of the factory school attached to the Pleasance works, and Miss Robertson head teacher of the Hillbank Spinning Company School. It is unlikely that these were well paid posts. Fee-paying schools aimed at the wealthier middle classes also continued post 1872, but such schools are outwith the scope of this thesis.

After 1872, teaching in School Board schools had a clear career structure. Women could be head teacher of small rural single-teacher schools, assisted by a pupil teacher. The degree of autonomy they enjoyed was dependent on the local School Board;

small rural School Boards were notorious for capricious demands upon teachers, both male and female. Pay was low, but accommodation was often provided, which makes it difficult to assess the value of their overall employment package. Well-paid promoted posts were restricted to urban schools large enough to have a hierarchy of teachers; the larger the school, the more promoted posts. The post of Infant Mistress was restricted to women only and therefore was a reasonable ambition for the trained and certificated teacher. The Infant Mistress headed the Infant Department, and was responsible for managing staff and keeping the log book, but other duties varied according to location. In Aberdeen, Edinburgh, Sutherland and Govan, the Infant Mistress was subordinate to the Head Teacher, but in Dundee, the Infant Mistress was answerable directly to the School Board. In this respect Dundee School Board Schools had a unique structure. When schools were taken over, the School Board initially posited the model adopted in Aberdeen, whereby schools which previously had male and female heads of the Boys' and Girls' departments respectively, were reorganised to have one Head Teacher (usually, but not always, male) and a subordinate female Infant Mistress. In Dundee the male heads approved of this model, but the female teachers objected. A majority⁷¹⁴ of the women affected petitioned the School Board, setting out the practical disadvantages of an overall head teacher. The School Board consulted other School Boards in both England and Scotland, and decided to follow the example of several English Boards. As a result, in November 1875 men became the Head of the Senior years of each school, and women became head of the Infant department. Each Infant Mistress was independent of the male Head teacher, and each was responsible directly to the School Board.⁷¹⁵ The salary of the male Head of the senior years and the salary of the female Infant Mistress was to be in a ratio of 7:3. Although this gave the Infant Mistresses a smaller ratio than in Aberdeen or Edinburgh, the promoted salaries themselves were higher and so Infant Mistresses in Dundee were paid more than Infant Mistresses in Aberdeen.

⁷¹⁴ Mrs Bertie was one teacher who preferred to have the headmaster (in her case, her husband) in charge. See Dundee School Board minutes Nov 1875-March 1876, 24 Jan 1876.

⁷¹⁵ Dundee School Board minutes Nov 1875-March 1876. See also Delaney, Elaine, *Women Teachers and Education in Dundee between 1872 and 1914*, Unpublished M.Litt dissertation, University of Dundee archives.

As most urban schools were large enough to have an Infants Department, most urban pupils had experience of a woman in a promoted teaching post, and thus a role model of a woman working in a professional role. Even schools in small towns might be large enough to have an Infant Mistress; in Helmsdale, Miss Chisholm was Infant Mistress from the mid-1890s on a salary of £80pa until 1900, when she was replaced by Kate Banks.⁷¹⁶

Govan School Board used the term 'Headmistress' for the senior female assistant. It didn't equate to 'Headmaster.' Indeed, the School Board minutes explicitly stated that the headmistress' duties were to be 'defined by the headmaster.'⁷¹⁷ Nevertheless, the headmistress was a promoted post. There was a huge discrepancy between the salary paid to headmasters and headmistresses in Govan; greater than that in either Aberdeen or Dundee. Edinburgh followed the same structure as Aberdeen, with Infant Mistresses in virtually all School Board schools. The Infants were regarded as a separate department in Edinburgh schools, with the Headmaster in overall charge of all parts of the school.

It was also possible for women to become Head teachers of mixed-sex Public Elementary Schools, proving that the ladder of success could reach all the way to the top for some women. Female Head teachers after 1872 fell into two categories. Firstly, there were those who held a head teacher post in a charity or church school prior to their school being taken over by the School Board, and who retained their post. Secondly, there were those appointed by the School Board. The first category tended to be confined to smaller urban schools. In Aberdeen, Jane Spalding was head of Davidson's School when it was taken over by the School Board and renamed York Street School. She retired in 1906 after almost thirty years as a head teacher. Her salary in 1896 was £200 pa. A gardener's daughter from Strichen, Aberdeenshire, when she died she was living in Desswood Place, in Aberdeen's affluent West End.⁷¹⁸ Similarly, Christina Copland, a slater's daughter, was head of Chalmers' School, Aberdeen, which was renamed Westfield School when it

⁷¹⁶ Kildonan School Board minutes 9 June 1900.

⁷¹⁷ Govan School Board minutes, D-ED1/4/1/1, 9 Mar 1874, p. 93.

⁷¹⁸ McCall, A.T. *Aberdeen School Board Female Teachers 1872-1901: a biographical list*. Aberdeen and North East Scotland Family History Society 2007, p. 54.

was taken over by the Board. She was an active member of the E.I.S. and was the sixth woman to be made a Fellow of the E.I.S. In 1896, her salary was £160pa, plus a schoolhouse, with fuel supplied. She retired in 1900 after twenty-four years as head teacher. Likewise, Mary Ann Milne was retained as head of the small Primrose School, Aberdeen.⁷¹⁹ In Dundee, too, some women were head teachers of schools which were taken over by the School Board, and who retained their position. Examples include Jessie Smith of St Enoch's school, formerly run by the Church of Scotland. In 1877 it had an average attendance of only 110 pupils.⁷²⁰ Wallacetown Girls and Infants School also had a female heads of both the senior and infants schools; Violet Taylor⁷²¹ and Jane Anderson in 1876. In Edinburgh Grace Crichton was head of Victoria Terrace School. If the School Board did not extend these schools, the initial female head might be succeeded by another woman. Mary Ann Milne was succeeded by Jessie Shirreffs in 1892, although her salary, £60pa, was no higher than that of a class teacher. School Boards were also likely to continue employing a female Head Teacher if the school had no long term future. As time went on, the number of women who were Head teachers because they were in situ when the School Board took over their school naturally declined.

Some women headed large schools. Elizabeth Nisbet's father was a plumber and she was born in a poor area of Aberdeen. The family were upwardly mobile.⁷²² Nisbet became Head teacher of Torry School, which was renamed Victoria Road School and enlarged by the School Board to accommodate 1,000 pupils. Nisbet retained the head teachership of the large school,⁷²³ though ultimately she was demoted to head of Westfield, and replaced with a male teacher. (Despite the HMI report on the school stating 'The instruction is very capably supervised. The Headmistress has a thorough and intelligent grasp of all the details'⁷²⁴ the School Board felt that the Head Teacher of such

⁷¹⁹ McCall, A.T. *Aberdeen School Board Female Teachers 1872-1901: a biographical list*. Aberdeen and North East Scotland Family History Society 2007, p. 41.

⁷²⁰ Dundee School Board minutes 1877, p299.

⁷²¹ Violet Taylor, born around 1842, was a dairyman's daughter.

⁷²² Nisbet's father ultimately became an Inspector of Works.

⁷²³ Aberdeen School Board Minutes 15 Feb 1900.

⁷²⁴ School Board minutes 5 April 1906

a large school ought to be male.)⁷²⁵ Isabella Chalmers (later Mrs Skea) was head of the Girls Department of the East Parish Sessional School when the Board took it over in 1873. It was renamed St Paul Street School and was repeatedly enlarged, with Chalmers remaining head until her retirement in 1908. Jessie G. Shaw was head teacher of Brown Street School, Dundee. These women will be discussed in greater detail subsequently. In 1899, Mrs Skea addressed a meeting of over 400 women teachers in Edinburgh. She stated that;

In Aberdeen there were four headmistresses of mixed schools, the schools varying in size from 300 pupils to 1030. These schools, managed by women, were among the most successful in Aberdeen. The headmistresses had an honoured place in all the educational deliberations of the city. ...and the work done in their schools, as appraised by Inspectors, was second to none. If such a state of matters existed in Edinburgh, Glasgow, or Dundee, she was not aware of it.⁷²⁶

In fact, as stated previously one school in Dundee did have a female head; Brown Street School, where Jessie Gordon Shaw was head teacher.

The most senior member of staff below the Head teacher was the Second Master / Mistress. Although these posts were almost invariably held by men, there are instances of female First Mistresses. Margaret Bain was Second Mistress at St Paul Street School, Aberdeen. Isabella Lambert was Second Mistress at Fountainbridge School, in Edinburgh from 1878. Very large schools might also have a further tier of promotion, the designation of which varied. Harriet Beech, LLA, was First Assistant at New Street School, Edinburgh, on a salary of £160 p.a. in 1886. Marjory S. Baird was Chief Certificated Female Assistant at Blackness, Dundee, and Jane Anderson held the same post at Brown Street School, Dundee, in 1893. Both were paid £100 p.a. I have found no evidence of such a post, held by either male or female, in either Aberdeen or Govan. In Dundee, both Harris and Morgan Academies had Infant Mistresses and Second Infant

⁷²⁵ School Board Minutes 28 June 1906

⁷²⁶ *Educational News* 1899, 23 September 1899, p. 663.

Mistresses. Second Infant Mistresses were not paid much more than unpromoted class teachers; E. Whittet at Harris and Isabella D Skinner at Morgan were paid £70 and £80 p.a. respectively in 1893, whereas the Infant Mistresses, Agnes Webster at Harris and Margaret Davidson at Morgan, were paid £120 and £100pa respectively.⁷²⁷ The post of Second Infant Mistress appears to have been unique to these two schools.

In 1899, it was calculated that women in Dundee had a 1 in 169 chance of promotion each year, but only 1 in 242 in Edinburgh and 1 in 284 in Aberdeen. (Figures for Govan and Sutherland were not given.)⁷²⁸ This compared to a 1 in 198 chance of promotion for men in Dundee, 1 in 149 in Edinburgh and 1 in 82 in Aberdeen. This shows that there was considerable regional variation; the more ‘feminised’ the profession became in terms of numbers of women, the less chance those women had of promotion. The low rate for women in Aberdeen indicated the high ratio of female to male teachers. Although men had a far higher chance of ultimately gaining a promoted post, these statistics were regarded as too poor to attract men into teaching; women, it was assumed, had less ambition. From this it can be seen that there were a variety of promoted posts open to women, with regional variations in title, job description and prospects of promotion. By far the largest category was that of the Infant Mistress, an exclusively female post and one which was, moreover found in every large urban Public Elementary School, and indeed many smaller urban schools, or schools which were in more rural areas, but which were comparatively large. Achieving a promoted post as Infant Mistress was a reasonable ambition for women, but other promoted posts, although not exclusively male, were rarely held by women.

Salaries

Salaries are a vital component of the promoted post; a poorly paid woman could not be regarded as a ‘lass o’ pairts’ notwithstanding the fact, already mentioned in Chapter Five, that many non-promoted teachers earned more than their fathers and thus

⁷²⁷ Dundee School Board minutes April 1892-April 1893, pp. 261-268.

⁷²⁸ *Educational News* 1899, 17 June 1899, pp. 408-409.

were upwardly socially mobile. In 1860, a new Code was introduced to govern state support for schools and this was revised in 1862. This 'Revised Code' as it was known, introduced a system referred to as 'payment by results'; a teacher's income was partially dependent on his or her pupils' results. One of the justifications for this new system was the argument that the prestige surrounding the successful pupil encouraged teachers to focus on the talented few and neglect the average child.⁷²⁹ Although the Revised Code was unpopular in Scotland, where it was often referred to as the 'English Code' it did boost some teachers' salaries, and some of the beneficiaries were female. Chalmers, who earned £145 in 1875, has already been discussed.⁷³⁰ Margaret Marshall, teacher at Greyfriars, Aberdeen, earned £112 10s in 1874 and was expected to earn £117 10s in 1875;⁷³¹ Marshall, a plumber's daughter, was born in 1846, and so was aged 28/29. Alexanderina Ogg, already mentioned as having come second in the Entrance examination for the Normal College, was earning £100 p.a. at the age of 23.⁷³² These were highly attractive salaries but changing educational policy subsequently restricted the boost in income derived from 'payment by results.' James Scotland quotes figures from the minutes of the Committee of the Privy Council on Education in Scotland;

In 1870, the average salary of a master in a state-aided Scottish school was about £111 a year, of a mistress £55....Men on leaving college averaged £85 a year in 1877, women £66; the fact that the latter arrived almost at once near their maximum mirrors the differential prospects for promotion.⁷³³

Promotion prospects for women may have been substantially poorer than for men, but they did exist, and examples of women for whom £66 p.a. was not 'near their maximum' are plentiful.

⁷²⁹ Anderson, R.D. *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918*, Clarendon Press, 1995, pp. 55-57.

⁷³⁰ Aberdeen School Board Minutes, ED 1180/1/ 1, 12 Aug 1875.

⁷³¹ Aberdeen School Board Minutes, ED 1180/1/1, 11 Feb 1875.

⁷³² Aberdeen School Board Minutes, ED 1180/1/3, 9 Nov 1876.

⁷³³ Scotland, James, Scotland, James, *The History of Scottish Education*, University of London Press Ltd. 1969, p. 127.

In Aberdeen, although salaries for promoted female teachers were high initially, they remained static post 1872. When Agnes Ewen became Infant Mistress at Skene Street School in 1877, her salary was stated to be ‘not less than £100pa.’⁷³⁴ Twenty years later, as Infant Mistress at Rosemount School, her salary had only increased to £120 p.a. Agnes Ewen’s sister, Annie, became Infant Mistress at St Clement Street School in 1879, on a salary of £90 p.a, plus emoluments.⁷³⁵ As the two sisters lived together, with their widowed mother, they would have enjoyed a household income in 1879 of at least £210p.a. This income did not significantly increase, but the household must have been comfortably off. Certainly, their widowed mother must have enjoyed a far higher standard of living as the mother of two teachers, than she had as the wife of a woodturner. Annie Ewen resigned in 1891 when she married William C Farrell, headmaster of Ruthrieston School. In 1894, Farrell’s successor as headmaster of Ruthrieston was employed on a salary of £190, rising to £200.⁷³⁶ Presumably, Farrell’s salary had not been more than £200p.a. Therefore, the Ewen sisters’ household enjoyed a total income greater than that of Annie Ewen’s future husband. Agnes and Annie Ewen were in a privileged position, both having been promoted before female salaries stalled, and in being part of a double-income household. However, many other female teachers shared a home with a sister, and enjoyed the benefits of a dual-income home, which may have ameliorated lower salaries. Similarly, Isabella Chalmers (Mrs Skea) was paid £250p.a. in 1884, but her salary did not increase significantly thereafter. She may have had a second source of income, as she was the author of a series of textbooks,⁷³⁷ but there is no evidence relating to her income (if any) from this.

Salaries in Dundee at the outset of the period were also high; in 1876, immediately before the 7:3 ratio came into effect, the male head of Hilltown was paid £242 17s 6d, and the female head £212 0s 3d. The male head of Balfour St was paid £231 11s 6d, and the female head £200 (as the two heads of Balfour Street were husband and wife, the division may have been academic.) St Enoch’s was a small school, with a

⁷³⁴ Aberdeen School Board minutes ED 1180/1/2, 11 Oct 1877.

⁷³⁵ Aberdeen School Board minutes ED 1180/1/3, 4 Apr 1879.

⁷³⁶ Aberdeen Weekly Journal, 13 Jan 1894, p7.

⁷³⁷ *The Combined Class series*, in 5 volumes, published Aberdeen between 1887 and 1891

single, female head who was paid £107 16s 6d.⁷³⁸ The female heads of schools which had not yet come under the School Board could also be high; the female head of St Andrews School received £230, and the female head of Hunter Street School received £180 0s 0d.⁷³⁹ There appears to have been no uniform rate – at St Peters, prior to the 7:3 ratio, the male head received £329 17s 3d, while the female head received only £80 0s 0d.⁷⁴⁰ Therefore, Dundee, where as discussed in the previous chapter, non-promoted teachers were paid very poorly, had the highest salaries of all female teachers in promoted posts in the early 1870s. Following the introduction of the 7:3 ratio, the School Board clarified that the Headmistresses were to have a fixed minimum of £80, plus not less than $\frac{1}{4}$ of the Government Grant.⁷⁴¹ It is impossible to discover exactly how much headmistresses were paid in Dundee. In 1890, the School Board resolved;

that £200 of fixed salary be paid to the headmasters of all schools where the average attendance is 250 or over, and £100 where the average attendance is under £250, plus 10% of the Grant, and of what fees as last charged would have amounted to, calculated on the average attendance in each Standard and Infant department, less $3\frac{1}{4}$ % in lieu of irrecoverable fees, after deducting all expenses of and incident to the Schools and their management and maintenance other than Assistants and Pupil Teachers salaries, additional Furniture or Apparatus, or replacement of Furniture or Apparatus, extraordinary Repairs, Rates, Rents, Taxes, and Insurance; Maximum Salary £400, and Head Mistresses to receive a salary equal to $\frac{3}{7}$ of Head Masters salary, as also that the fixed Salaries of the Head Teachers under the Scheme as above mentioned to be paid quarterly.⁷⁴²

In 1891 the best paid Infant mistress, at Clepington Road School, was paid £165 3s 11d, with the Infant Mistress at Hawkhill being paid £150 18s 2d. This compares with an average salary of £120 paid to Infant Mistresses in Aberdeen. In comparison to wages paid to other women in Dundee it compares very favourably; skilled mill workers were

⁷³⁸ Dundee School Board minutes 13 Jan 1876.

⁷³⁹ Dundee School Board minutes 13 Jan 1876.

⁷⁴⁰ Dundee School Board minutes 13 Jan 1876.

⁷⁴¹ Dundee School Board minutes 23 Feb 1876.

⁷⁴² Dundee School Board minutes April 1890-March 1891, p. 307, 15 April 1890.

paid a weekly wage of 10 shillings, and unskilled mill workers less. Infant Mistresses moreover worked shorter hours, and benefitted from longer holidays and other benefits. In addition to their salaries, teachers in Dundee sold schoolbooks at a small profit. It does not seem clear how much of a profit was possible; if books remained unsold a loss was feasible.⁷⁴³ Some parents suspected that teachers made a large profit, teachers argued that the sale of books was a service to parents who were saved the effort of going to a bookseller.

By 1901, several women in promoted posts in Dundee were earning over £100p.a. Marjory Baird, Chief Female Assistant at Blackness School, was being paid £120 p.a, as was M.H. Kay, Infant Mistress at Hill Street School, Elizabeth McNicoll, First Female Assistant⁷⁴⁴ at Liff Road School and Mary Nicoll, Infant Mistress at Rosebank School. Baird and Kay were both trained teachers, but McNicol and Nicoll were untrained. Agnes McKay, Infant Mistress at Glebelands, and Eliana Smart, Infant Mistress at Brown Street, received a pay rise from £110 p.a. to £115 p.a, and Elizabeth T. Bell, Jane Gill and Robina Scott, Jane Simpson and Mary Ann Tarbat,⁷⁴⁵ all Infant Mistresses, from £100 to £105 p.a. in 1901.⁷⁴⁶ All except Smart were trained. The inclusion of untrained teachers amongst the highest earners in Dundee is surprising, and suggests again that Dundee was following a different criterion to Aberdeen, Edinburgh or Govan. It also raises questions regarding this thesis; that women could access structured education, culminating with Teacher Training College, to access well paid careers. In Dundee, it would appear that women need not attend Training College to access a promoted post.

In Govan, as in Dundee, it is difficult to calculate headmasters' salaries, being partially dependent on the level of fees paid and the amount of government grant achieved. Headmistresses were on a fixed salary. However, the School Board minutes of 10 May 1875 stated that all headmasters were earning £300 p.a., with the exception of the

⁷⁴³ *The Dundee Courier & Argus and Northern Warder* (Dundee, Scotland), Tuesday, July 03, 1877.

⁷⁴⁴ I do not know why Baird was "Chief Female Assistant" but McNicoll "First Female Assistant" nor do I know the difference between the two, if any.

⁷⁴⁵ Her father, James, was a Chelsea Pensioner. Her younger sister, Jessie, also became a teacher.

⁷⁴⁶ Dundee School Board minutes April 1900-March 1901.

head of Kinning Park School, who was earning £400 p.a.⁷⁴⁷ In contrast to Aberdeen and Dundee, female promoted salaries in Govan were low initially, although they rose quickly. Another difference was that Govan School Board placed comparatively young women in promoted posts. They may have been paid less than in other areas, but they were achieving higher salaries in their twenties in Govan, than in Dundee. Annie Sutherland, aged 28,⁷⁴⁸ was the first woman to be employed by Govan School Board,⁷⁴⁹ as headmistress of Portland Hall School. Her salary on 8 Sept 1873 was £60 p.a. which rose to £65 on 15 Mar 1874. In June 1874 her teaching certificate was suspended, for an unspecified reason,⁷⁵⁰ but was reinstated in August 1874.⁷⁵¹ Her salary increased to £70p.a. on 1 Aug 1875 and to £80 p.a. in 1876.⁷⁵² Marion Stevenson, headmistress of Merkland Street School, saw her salary rise from £60 p.a. in 1873 to £90 p.a. by August 1875, shortly after her thirtieth birthday. In 1876, she was paid £100. Margaret Brownlie, headmistress of Copeland Road School, replaced Miss Ross⁷⁵³ on a salary of £60 in 1874.⁷⁵⁴ Brownlie was another young head, being appointed prior to her 24th birthday.⁷⁵⁵ Her salary was increased to £70 in 1875⁷⁵⁶ and to £80 in 1876.⁷⁵⁷ Maggie Yuill⁷⁵⁸ was appointed headmistress of a temporary school at Kinning Park on £70pa.⁷⁵⁹ in 1875 at the age of 22.⁷⁶⁰ She subsequently married the headmaster, Thomas Brodie, in 1879. Maggie Johnston, the 23 year old headmistress of Kinning Park was on £65 in 1874, but resigned the following year to marry William McHaffie, calendarer. Her father was a master wright and builder.⁷⁶¹

⁷⁴⁷ Govan School Board minutes, D-ED1/4/1/1, 10 May 1875, p. 40.

⁷⁴⁸ Annie Sutherland was born 2 Feb 1845.

⁷⁴⁹ No 17 on the Register of Teachers. (The first twelve were the members of the School Board)

⁷⁵⁰ Govan School Board minutes, D-ED1/4/1/1, 8 June 1874, p.123.

⁷⁵¹ Govan School Board minutes D-ED1/4/1/1, 10 August 1874, p.134.

⁷⁵² Govan School Board minutes D-ED1/4/1/2, 13 Nov 1876, pp. 225-6

⁷⁵³ Entry 73 in Register shows Margaret Ross, certificated teacher, employed on a salary of £60.

⁷⁵⁴ Govan School Board minutes D-ED1/4/1/1, 14 Sept 1874, p. 139.

⁷⁵⁵ Staff Register (entry 88) gives her date of birth as 6 Dec 1850.

⁷⁵⁶ Govan School Board minutes D-ED1/4/1/1, 13 Sept 1875.

⁷⁵⁷ Govan School Board minutes D-ED1/4/1/2, 11 Sept 1876, p. 202.

⁷⁵⁸ Margaret Adair Yuille was born 19 May 1853. Her father was a schoolmaster at Eaglesham. She came from a middle-class family; an uncle and a brother were both ministers. However, as the eldest of a family of nine, money may not have been plentiful.

⁷⁵⁹ Govan School Board minutes D-ED1/4/1/2, 13 Dec 1875, p. 103.

⁷⁶⁰ Staff Register entry 138.

⁷⁶¹ Marriage certificate 1875 644/12 0306

In 1877, an advertisement for a head master and a headmistress in Govan attracted 31 applications from men and 37 from women. The three women who were shortlisted were all aged 23 or 24. Janet Anderson, aged 24, was appointed on a salary of £70pa. The headmaster was also aged 24, and received a salary of £150 p.a.⁷⁶² Not all female teachers were young; but none appear to have been appointed in the early 1870s after the age of 35. Elizabeth Smith⁷⁶³ was 35 when she was appointed Headmistress on a salary of £92.⁷⁶⁴ Her father, Duncan Smith, had a 13 acre market garden in Govan. Smith was working as an ex-pupil teacher in the 1861 census⁷⁶⁵ and as a teacher in the 1871 census.⁷⁶⁶ Her younger sister Marion M Smith was also a teacher, and in 1881 they appear to have been supporting their elderly father and three sisters.⁷⁶⁷ Jane R Alexander, also became a headmistress at the age of 35, on a salary of £90,⁷⁶⁸ which was increased to £100 in 1876. Louisa Campbell, head mistress was on a salary of £90, aged 30,⁷⁶⁹ which was likewise increased to £100 in 1876.⁷⁷⁰ In November 1876, salary increases meant five women were being paid £100 p.a.⁷⁷¹ In conclusion, women in promoted posts achieved promotion at a young age, but the salary paid was less than that available in Aberdeen or Dundee. Govan, as a town of rapid inward immigration had a young population generally, as already discussed in Chapter One, and this might account for the phenomenon of the headmistress in her early twenties. As none of the other four areas consistently appointed young head teachers, and as none had such a young population generally, it would appear that there was a correlation.

The best salaries, however, were paid by Edinburgh School Board. Indeed, they were the subject of public comment. Simon Laurie⁷⁷² remarked hopefully;

⁷⁶² Govan School Board minutes D-ED1/4/1/2, 12 Feb 1877, p. 287.

⁷⁶³ Born 22 May 1839.

⁷⁶⁴ Govan School Board minutes, D-ED1/4/1/1, 27 Jan 1874.

⁷⁶⁵ *Govan*; ED: 5; Page: 13; Line: 20; Roll: *CSSCT1861_114*.

⁷⁶⁶ *Govan*; ED: 40; Page: 16; Line: 21; Roll: *CSSCT1871_143*.

⁷⁶⁷ *Partick*; ED: 28; Page: 17; Line: 6; Roll: *cssct1881_258*.

⁷⁶⁸ Register entry 111. Dob 9 Aug 1840.

⁷⁶⁹ Register entry 110. Dob 9 Aug 1845. Father a bank messenger. Younger sister Isabella also a teacher.

⁷⁷⁰ Govan School Board minutes D-ED1/4/1/2, 13 Nov 1876, p. 225/26.

⁷⁷¹ Govan School Board minutes D-ED1/4/1/2, 13 Nov 1876, pp. 225-26.

⁷⁷² Professor Simon Laurie. See R. D. Anderson, 'Laurie, Simon Somerville (1829–1909)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004; online edn, May 2007 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/34422>, accessed 4 June 2013]

I am disposed to think that the Board has little to fear from its constituents. The labourers, artisans and tradesmen of Edinburgh will not be sorry to learn that they are getting the best teachers to train and instruct their children, and the wealthier members of the community are now too keenly alive to the importance of the best possible training as well as instruction of the children of the poorer classes to grudge the additional 1/25 of a farthing per £1.⁷⁷³

In this sanguine belief he may have been disappointed. As the School Board was elected by ratepayers, the public held them accountable for the salaries paid. This gives us an opportunity to see public opinion, or, at any rate the opinions of those who wrote to the newspapers. A letter regarding the ‘exceptionally high salaries given by the Edinburgh School Board to the head Infant Mistresses’ commented;

I do not think the question of women’s place and power, of her rights, wrongs or duties, ever came into the argument of the Board. The plea was that the higher salary we offered the better teachers we would get...but we cannot permanently raise the remuneration of female teachers by such *artificial stimulus*....it may induce many to enter the profession under the idea that there is a great demand and high remuneration. The result would be a greater supply than demand and salaries would come down.⁷⁷⁴

In 1895, a letter to the *Educational News* complained, inter alia, of ‘the present tendency, unlike the traditional past, ...of some School Boards putting females in the places of males.’⁷⁷⁵

Although women were not appointed to the position of head teacher in Edinburgh, there was little difference in the salaries paid to men and women in the promoted posts beneath that of head teacher. In 1886, there were seventeen School Board Schools in Edinburgh; in seven the First Assistant earned less than the Infant Mistress, in six the

⁷⁷³ *The Scotsman*, 11 Dec 1876, p. 3

⁷⁷⁴ *The Scotsman* 6 Jan 1877, p. 5

⁷⁷⁵ *Educational News* 16 February 1895, p. 116.

First Assistant earned more, and in three they were paid the same. The seventeenth was Victoria Terrace, which did not have a First Assistant. Of course, male first assistants enjoyed the possibility of further promotion, and also reached their maximum pay at an earlier age than female promoted teachers. Nevertheless, it was not unusual for a promoted woman to be earning more than her male colleague in the same school. Take, for example, William Glass. Born in Dundee, around 1837, the son of a joiner, he taught in Edinburgh and then in Methven, Perthshire. He married and had four children.⁷⁷⁶ On 12 Dec 1881 he was employed by Edinburgh School Board. By 1891 he was a First Assistant on a salary of £184 10s. This was a lower salary than the Infant Mistress, Grace Vallance, who was earning £200 p.a, and who was also nine years younger, although she had been employed by the School Board since 1 Jan 1874, and had thus reached her maximum salary.⁷⁷⁷ By 1890, there were 23 School Board schools in Edinburgh. Eight headmasters earned between £400-£420, ten earned between £350-£390 and five earned between £300 -£340.⁷⁷⁸ The highest earning fourteen women were paid £200 p.a. There was, therefore, a large discrepancy between the top head teacher salaries, which were exclusively male, and the top female salaries. Nonetheless, a salary of £200 compared favourably with that of a male First Assistant, and was amongst the highest salaries paid to female teachers anywhere in Scotland. In 1899, the *Educational News* reported that *only* 41 female teachers in Scotland were earning over £150 p.a., of whom 17 were earning over £200pa.⁷⁷⁹ By comparison, over 1,000 men were earning over £150. The majority of the high female earners were in Edinburgh.

It may be seen, therefore, that Edinburgh paid its promoted female teachers well, on a comparable salary to promoted male teachers, other than head teachers. In both Aberdeen and Dundee, salaries were initially high, but remained static, and even fell for newly promoted teachers, throughout the period. Whereas Edinburgh School Board strived to attract the best staff, and were committed to paying the salaries that would attract the best, both Aberdeen and Dundee recognised that there were an increasing

⁷⁷⁶ See 1881 census *Methven*; ED: 3; Page: 7; Line: 18; Roll: *cssct1881_107*; 1891 census *Edinburgh St Cuthberts*; ED: 59; Page: 16; Line: 15; Roll: *CSSCT1891_354*.

⁷⁷⁷ Edinburgh School Board minutes, appendix IV attached to the minutes of 16 Nov 1891

⁷⁷⁸ Edinburgh School Board minutes, appendix IV attached to the minutes of 16 Nov 1891.

⁷⁷⁹ *Educational News* 1899, 18 Nov 1899, p. 791.

number of women entering the teaching profession, and very high salaries were not needed to attract competent staff. Govan School Board paid low salaries, scarcely above those of an assistant, initially, but raised these rapidly in an attempt to attract more staff. The arguments used regarding salary scales were highly gendered; it was accepted that men needed high salaries, if not at the outset of their working lives, then certainly in middle age, and if such high salaries could not be regarded as a reasonable expectation then men would simply avoid the teaching profession. Women, however, were not a scarce resource and were not expected to harbour the same degree of ambition as men; the discussion of pay rates for men and women were regarded as completely separate topics.

The Educational Institute for Scotland

Linked to women's access to promoted posts and high salaries is the question of female involvement in the E.I.S. The E.I.S. was founded in 1847 with an all-male membership of 600 teachers. It was awarded a Royal Charter in 1851, at which point it started to award the degree of Fellow of the Institute. Women's role in the E.I.S has been under researched. Anderson sums it up by saying;

[Women] were first admitted in the 1870s, but there were still only 200 members in 1878. As time passed they claimed more local and national offices, and a distinctive role in meetings and congresses. A Ladies Committee was set up in the 1890s, but women members of the General Committee, a woman vice-president, and a woman E.I.S. President (Elizabeth Fish)⁷⁸⁰ were not elected until 1899, 1905, and 1913 respectively.⁷⁸¹

Corr claims that 'An examination of the literature on the E.I.S. reveals that there was no separate female organisation (except for a Ladies Committee) nor was there a national

⁷⁸⁰ Jane McDermid, 'Fish, Elizabeth Mary Jane (1860–1944)', *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/62320>, accessed 14 July 2013]

⁷⁸¹ Anderson, R.D. *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918* Clarendon Press Oxford 1995 p.178.

campaign headed by women to obtain equal wage rates before 1914.’⁷⁸² It is difficult to understand Corr’s point that there was no separate female organisation, except for a Ladies Committee, as this *was* a separate female organisation within the E.I.S. Ladies Committees met separately, and some organised separate speakers, although this appears to have varied from area to area. Although women’s role within the E.I.S. is seen as negligible, it may be relevant to reverse the question and examine the E.I.S.’s role in the women’s careers.

Women were first admitted to the E.I.S after the 1872 Education (Scotland) Act. In his summing up of 1874, Mr Duthie, president of the Aberdeen branch, said that they had 45 members, 31 men and 14 ladies and that ‘although the ladies have not yet taken a prominent active part in the work of the Association, they have given us an example of regularity of attendance that will not be lost on the rest of the members.’⁷⁸³ This suggests that although women were just under a third of the total membership their more regular attendance meant that at meetings, the sexes might be more equally represented. The delegates appointed to go to Edinburgh that year comprised eight men and two women – Miss Chalmers and Miss Johnstone⁷⁸⁴ although it appears that neither of the women actually went.⁷⁸⁵ The *Aberdeen Journal* of 25 Aug 1875 refers to ‘Messrs Chalmers and Johnstone’ and this use of ‘Messrs’ for female members of the E.I.S occurs intermittently in the *Aberdeen Journal*. It is presumably the result of a lazy assumption on the part of the copy-writer that all those named in reports of E.I.S meetings are male. Nevertheless, it introduces the possibility that in Aberdeen, women’s participation in the E.I.S. may appear less than it actually was. Similarly, *The Scotsman* reported that ‘the following gentlemen’ were appointed delegates in 1876; the list included ‘Miss Chalmers.’⁷⁸⁶ Corr focuses on the lack of a female led campaign for equal wages, but in Aberdeen there was a belief that once women achieved equal rights to a University education, equal wages would follow. University education, then, was the focus of their campaigns, and indeed, a

⁷⁸² Corr, Helen, *The Sexual Division of Labour in the Scottish Teaching Profession 1872-1914* in Humes and Paterson (eds) *Scottish Culture and Scottish Education 1800-1980* John Donald Publishers Ltd 1983.

⁷⁸³ *Aberdeen Journal* 16 June 1875

⁷⁸⁴ Joint head of Marywell Street School 1873-1876.

⁷⁸⁵ *Aberdeen Journal* 25 Aug 1875

⁷⁸⁶ *The Scotsman*, 12 June 1876, p3.

matter discussed by the E.I.S as a whole. The third Annual Congress of the E.I.S was held in Aberdeen in 1877, with ‘a large attendance of ladies.’⁷⁸⁷ At this Congress Professor Black said that he ‘did not venture to discuss’ the question of University education for female teachers. Professor Struthers picked up this point and stated that;

women (teachers) ought to be on the same footing as men. There was no reason whatsoever, except custom and conservatism, for there being no University degree for teachers. Why relegate the women to the Normal School, and the men, forsooth, be drafted into the Universities?

In 1881 Miss Chalmers presented a paper on ‘A University Training and Degree for Female Teachers’ after which ‘it was remitted to the committee to agitate for higher education for women in connection with the Normal Schools.’⁷⁸⁸ In 1883 the Aberdeen E.I.S circulated a memorial in favour of the foundation of a Chair of Education at Aberdeen University and university education for women teachers.⁷⁸⁹ In 1896 Mrs Skea addressed the Annual Congress of the E.I.S. and claimed that;

three things were necessary (for women teachers), and women must agitate till they got them – first, higher training; second, freer range; third, better emoluments...on the grounds of equal training, and on that alone, could women claim equal status with men. Given that, all the rest would follow.⁷⁹⁰

The strategy to gain University education for women as a means of obtaining equal pay may have been naïve – and indeed the subsequent history of the teaching profession shows that University education did not improve female wages – but it was a logical strategy. It is disingenuous to suggest that ‘there was no national campaign headed by women to obtain equal wage rates before 1914’ when, in fact, women were campaigning to remove what they saw as the barrier to equal wages.

⁷⁸⁷ *Aberdeen Weekly Journal* 3 Jan 1877,

⁷⁸⁸ *Aberdeen Weekly Journal* 10 Oct 1881

⁷⁸⁹ *Aberdeen Weekly Journal* 11 June 1883

⁷⁹⁰ *Aberdeen Journal* 31 Dec 1896, p. 6.

In other instances, too, it can be seen that women were not expected to be, nor prepared to be, belittled. In 1886, Mr Stewart gave a paper in which he remarked that unemployment for male teachers was worse than for female as ‘during their idleness they might be able to occupy their time in fishing for a permanent position.’ Herr Hein, Mrs Skea and Mr Ramage all objected to this remark, Mrs Skea claiming it was a ‘disgrace to the Institute’⁷⁹¹ although Mr Ramage did try to smooth matters over by suggesting that the remark had been a rhetorical flourish. In 1887, the Aberdeen branch objected to a proposed Widow’s Fund, on the grounds that any such fund should ‘benefit all its members, male and female, married and single.’⁷⁹² The Aberdeen branch of the E.I.S. gave women a place to meet, and a rare opportunity for public speaking. Chalmers became a fellow in 1878 and Copland in 1880. Isabella Chalmers was the woman referred to by Anderson, as the first woman member of the General Committee. By 1884, it would appear that the women in Aberdeen were having additional meetings.⁷⁹³ Women in Aberdeen appear to have been more active in the E.I.S. than in any of the other areas. There is no evidence of female involvement in the E.I.S. in East Sutherland. Indeed, as late as 1899, there were only 16 members of the E.I.S. in Sutherland, with 11 female and 7 male teachers eligible to join, but not doing so.⁷⁹⁴ Many women remained outwith the E.I.S. in Dundee, where there were 335 members in 1899, and a further 146 female and 33 male teachers outwith the Institute.⁷⁹⁵ Eliana Smart was one Dundee teacher actively involved; she attended meetings of the E.I.S. Ladies’ Committee in Edinburgh.⁷⁹⁶ However, women were active in Edinburgh, with women such as Margaret Reach⁷⁹⁷ and Harriet Beck⁷⁹⁸ gaining the F.E.I.S. and Miss Mitchell, of Milton House School urging the importance of female participation in the E.I.S, pointing out that;

⁷⁹¹ *Aberdeen Weekly Journal* 22 Mar 1886

⁷⁹² *Aberdeen Weekly Journal* 21 Feb 1887

⁷⁹³ *Aberdeen Weekly Journal* 15 Dec 1884

⁷⁹⁴ *Educational News* 1899, 7 Jan 1899, p. 13.

⁷⁹⁵ *Educational News* 1899, 7 Jan 1899, p. 13.

⁷⁹⁶ *Educational News* 1901, 5 Oct 1901, p. 719

⁷⁹⁷ Margaret Reach was Infant Mistress at Stockbridge, and was awarded the FEIS in 1901 – see *The Scotsman* 23 Sept 1901, p. 10.

⁷⁹⁸ Harriet Beck gained the FEIS after 1901, and hence later than the period of this thesis.

In questions relating to other professions, the opinions of experts in the various branches are listened to with deference, and even sought on occasion. In certain branches of education then, women are the experts and it is only fair that their position as such should be duly and fully recognised.⁷⁹⁹

In conclusion, membership of the E.I.S. conferred the possibility of status and responsibility on female teachers. It provided a platform for speaking publicly, and delivering papers. However, it would appear that there was considerable regional variation regarding female participation, with Aberdeen and subsequently Edinburgh, being the two areas in which women were able to participate fully.

Marriage

As discussed in Chapter Five, one feature of Dundee was that some women continued to teach after marriage, and this was not confined to women in non-promoted posts. In Dundee there were instances of both husband and wife teaching in the same school. Elizabeth Newton married William Bertie in 1871. Both were certificated teachers, both were aged thirty, and, in addition to teaching together, at Balfour Street School, they were near neighbours, living at 3 and 8 Balfour Street respectively. Their backgrounds were similar; his father was a farm grieve and hers a coal merchant.⁸⁰⁰ However, in the 1851 census, she was living with her grandmother, a pauper.⁸⁰¹ They continued to teach together after their marriage, and after the birth of their only child, Dora, around 1874. Elizabeth Bertie was one of the minority of Infant Mistresses who did not oppose the initial Boards intention to make Infant Mistresses subordinate to an overall Head, although prior to the School Board takeover, Balfour Street School had been run as two independent departments, Seniors and Infants. In the event, although she, like the other Infant Mistresses, was independent of the Senior Head, her husband, the practical effect may have been negligible. In 1877, the total sum to be split between the Mr and Mrs Bertie in the ratio 7:3 was £387 6s 6d, giving Elizabeth Bertie a salary of

⁷⁹⁹ *Educational News* 1901, 5 Oct 1901, p. 719.

⁸⁰⁰ www.scotlandsppeople.gov.uk Marriage certificate 1871 282/01 0121

⁸⁰¹ 1851 census *Dundee*; ED: 90; Page: 27; Line: 14; Roll: CSSCT1851_63

£116.⁸⁰² William Bertie remained headmaster of Balfour Street School, whilst Mrs Bertie was Infant Mistress until at least 1891. Similarly, at Brown Street School William Robb and his wife, both certificated teachers, were head master and infant mistress respectively in 1876/77.⁸⁰³ Mrs Robb had been Elizabeth Newton⁸⁰⁴, and her father was a Shore Porter. Husband and wife teaching in the same school, with the wife holding a post as Infant Mistress which was independent of the husband's post as Head Teacher of the Senior School gave a few women in Dundee an unusual professional position. Mrs Jessie Davies was a widow with one daughter and was female head of Clepington from 1880 to 1890.⁸⁰⁵ In 1884 she informed the School Board that she would be absent 'for a week or two' as her daughter⁸⁰⁶ had a severe attack of measles, but that the headmaster, Mr Mudie, had arranged to supervise her department. The School Board approved this. Similarly Mrs Anne Stewart was a widow with one son⁸⁰⁷, when she became head of Rosebank School in 1886. Married women rarely held promoted posts in Edinburgh; one example was that of Mr and Mrs Anderson, headmaster and Infant Mistress respectively of Holyrood School in 1878. A Mrs Murray was appointed Infant Mistress of Bristo School in 1877, but it has proved impossible to identify her.⁸⁰⁸ Mrs Mary Swanston⁸⁰⁹ was the widow of James Swanston, a teacher. He died after only three years of marriage, leaving her with three children.⁸¹⁰ She became Infant Mistress at Canonmills School. Her salary was to be increased to £160 p.a. in 1891.⁸¹¹ She retired in 1901, after a considerable time off ill.⁸¹² At that point she was earning £200 p.a. Similarly, Jane Thallon was a teacher prior to her marriage to fellow teacher John Davidson⁸¹³ She was

⁸⁰² Dundee School Board minutes 27 June 1877.

⁸⁰³ Elaine Delaney's book. Need to check original source i.e. School Board minutes.

⁸⁰⁴ Both William Bertie and William Robb married women named Elizabeth Newton; Robb in 1866, and Bertie in 1871 – I do not know if the two women were related.

⁸⁰⁵ Dundee Directory 1880/81; Dundee Directory 1885/85

⁸⁰⁶ Possibly her daughter, Ethel, who subsequently became a pupil teacher.

⁸⁰⁷ Duncan Stewart, born around 1879.

⁸⁰⁸ *The Scotsman* 22 June 1877.

⁸⁰⁹ Mary Keddie, daughter of a master bootmaker, married James Swanston, teacher of English, in 1877. 1877 685/01 0222.

⁸¹⁰ Margaret and twins May and Mary. The twins were born 25 March 1880 (1880 685/01 0395 and 0396) and James Swanston died 29 May 1880 (1880 685/02 0343)

⁸¹¹ Edinburgh School Board minutes, appendix IV attached to the minutes of 16 Nov 1891.

⁸¹² Edinburgh School Board minutes 20 May 1901, p. 155.

⁸¹³ Marriage certificate 1886 685/03 0198.

also left a widow with a young family⁸¹⁴ and was appointed Infant Mistress at Sciennes School on £130 p.a.⁸¹⁵ Raising a family of young children did not, therefore, preclude a widow from supporting her family through teaching and gaining a promoted post, but married women, other than those who taught in partnership with their husbands, rarely taught. One exception was Mrs Skea, who was almost forty when she married. The marriage was childless. Mrs Skea may have been concerned that Aberdeen School Board would look unfavourably on her marriage, for she wrote to inform them only a day before the wedding, and had been teaching as a married woman for almost a month before the next meeting of the School Board. Indeed, she married on Christmas Day, a discretionary holiday, and was back at her desk the day after her wedding, noting tersely in the School Log Book ‘Work going on as usual, according to Time Tables. Holiday on Christmas Day on account of the Head Mistress’ Marriage.’⁸¹⁶ This one exception apart, very few married women held promoted posts in Scotland’s public elementary schools.

I will now examine the careers of the most successful women in each of the five areas examined in this thesis, to discover if any might truly be described as a ‘lass o’ pairts’ achieving career success and upward social mobility through education and employment.

Kildonan, Loth and Clyne

There were few promoted posts for either gender in the parishes in Loth, Kildonan and Clyne; immediately after 1872 it could be argued that there were only two; the head teachers of the schools in Brora and Helmsdale, both of whom were male. Promoted posts for women did not exist in Kildonan, Loth and Clyne until the 1890s. This reflects the comparatively small size of the schools, compared to those in the cities. Only four women held promoted posts; the post of Infant Mistress was introduced in Helmsdale, on

⁸¹⁴ Two sons, John and George.

⁸¹⁵ Edinburgh School Board minutes 21 Dec 1891, p. 513. See also *The Scotsman* 22 Dec 1891.

⁸¹⁶ St Paul Street School Log Book, ED/AT5/22/1/1, 26 December 1884.

a salary of £80 p.a.⁸¹⁷ The first Infant Mistress was Miss Chisholm,⁸¹⁸ who resigned in 1900, to be replaced briefly by Kate Banks, and then Isobel Margaret Noble who was paid only £65 p.a. Kate Banks and Isobel Noble⁸¹⁹ were in a promoted post at the age of only 27 and 26 respectively, albeit one which paid a salary comparable to a newly qualified assistant elsewhere. Kate Banks was a farmer's daughter from Caithness; her younger sister Jessie also became a teacher in Helmsdale⁸²⁰ and therefore Helmsdale would not have had the drawback of isolation for them. In Clyne, the first Infant Mistress, Miss McDonald,⁸²¹ was appointed in 1895.⁸²² She resigned in 1900; her replacement was to be offered a salary of £80 p.a.⁸²³ There was no Infant Mistress in Loth. In the case of Kildonan, Loth and Clyne, the low salaries paid to the four Infant Mistresses correlates to the low salaries paid generally to teachers in parishes with small populations and small schools. In 1900, the headmaster of Clyne was paid £170 plus house and garden, and therefore the pro rata between headmaster and Infant Mistress was comparable to that elsewhere. Throughout this thesis it has been clear that opportunities for education, access to pupil teacherships and training college were limited or non-existent for women in east Sutherland, and opportunities for women to gain promoted posts were likewise few.

Dundee

Marjory Baird, previously discussed,⁸²⁴ was Chief Certificated Female Assistant at Blackness on a salary of £100p.a. in 1892. By 1901 Baird was providing a home for her widowed mother, and had a domestic servant. She was one of the few female

⁸¹⁷ The post was advertised in *The Scotsman* 12 Sept 1894, p.11, with a salary of £70, but the salary ultimately paid was £80 p.a.

⁸¹⁸ I have not been able to identify Miss Chisholm.

⁸¹⁹ 1901 census *Kildonan*; ED: 3; Page: 5; Line: 9; Roll: *CSSCT1901_15*.

⁸²⁰ 1901 census *Kildonan*; ED: 3; Page: 1; Line: 19; Roll: *CSSCT1901_15*. The Banks sisters' mother, Catherine Manson, was described as a "scholar" at age 16 in 1861, whilst her younger sister was an agricultural labourer; it would be interesting to know more about their mother's education.

⁸²¹ I have been unable to identify Miss McDonald.

⁸²² Clyne School Board minutes 5 April 1895

⁸²³ Clyne School Board minutes 23 April 1900.

⁸²⁴ See page 182.

teachers to have come from a family employed in the textile mills, which makes her achievement all the more remarkable.

By most measures, Dundee's most successful female teacher was Jessie Gordon Shaw, a blacksmith's daughter. She became head teacher of Brown Street School, a school with a strong female ethos.⁸²⁵ For several years her younger sister, Eliza also taught there. In Chapter Five of this thesis, reference was made to Eliza Shaw, who was described as an assistant at Brown Street School, but was paid £149 p.a. Jessie G. Shaw, described the situation in the following letter to Dundee School Board;⁸²⁶

Brown Street School is the only school under the Board with one Principal Teacher. In it my sister occupies the place, and performs the duties, of the Principal Female Teacher in the other schools. In her department, there is an average attendance of 440. She has been six years with me, and in Hunter Street School under the Ladies Committee. She was a Principal teacher – not an assistant. She had eleven years previous experience as Principal Teacher in one school.

As the two Shaw sisters lived together, their combined salary was greater than that of most headmasters. Jessie G Shaw retired in 1888.⁸²⁷ As discussed in Chapter Two of this thesis, she subsequently became a member of Dundee School Board.

Govan

Maggie Turbayne was born on 5 May 1845, the eldest of seven children of Alexander Turbayne and Helen Cramond. She was born in Fife, where her father was a farm overseer, but the family moved to Govan, where her father became a grocer. Turbayne was headmistress of Govanhall Public School on an initial salary of £60 when

⁸²⁵ Suffragette Lila Clunas taught there in the early twentieth century. See the entry on Lila Clunas by Mary Henderson in Pipes, Ewan, Innes, Reynolds (eds) *The Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women*, EUP, 2006, pp 77-78. See also <http://womenofscotland.org.uk/memorials/plaque-lila-clunas>, last accessed 3 June 2013.

⁸²⁶ Dundee School Board minutes 23 October 1880.

⁸²⁷ *The Scotsman* 28 June 1888, p7.

she was appointed in 1874.⁸²⁸ This rose to £90 when she was appointed headmistress of the new Calder Park School in 1875⁸²⁹ and to £100 in 1876.⁸³⁰ By 1891, Turbayne was living with two of her sisters, both of whom were described as ‘housekeeper’ and were presumably being supported by her.⁸³¹ Turbayne died in 1903.

Edinburgh

Malzina Harriet Beck, (known as Harriet) who was one of three daughters of Joseph Beck, a groom, and his wife Jane Watson Bruce. She and her twin sister Janet were born in Nov 1849, in East Lothian⁸³² By 1871 Harriet was a certificated teacher at Hobkirk, Berwickshire,⁸³³ while her father and sisters lived in Edinburgh.⁸³⁴ On 31 May 1874, Harriet returned to live with her family, having gained a post with Edinburgh School Board.⁸³⁵ The family were members of Greenside church, Edinburgh, a church popular with Divinity students and other young people.⁸³⁶ All three Beck sisters became active church members, assisting with the Sunday School and district missionary work. One member of Greenside, Rev Dr Clement Scott, became a missionary in Blantyre, in what is now Malawi, and he encouraged other church members to consider joining him. The three Beck sisters decided that Janet would offer herself as an unsalaried missionary, whilst Sarah and Harriet would remain in Edinburgh, earning enough to support her financially.⁸³⁷ Harriet went on to have a notable career in teaching. She had gained the degree of LLA in 1882,⁸³⁸ and was subsequently promoted to First Assistant at Milton House School, on a salary of £200 p.a. by 1891⁸³⁹ and £250 by 1901.⁸⁴⁰ She was active

⁸²⁸ Govan School Board minutes, D-ED1/4/1/1, 12 Jan 1874, p.75.

⁸²⁹ Govan School Board minutes D-ED1/4/1/2, 17 May 1875, p. 48. See also *The Scotsman* 15 June 1875, p. 3.

⁸³⁰ Govan School Board minutes D-ED1/4/1/2, 13 Nov 1876, pp. 225-26

⁸³¹ *Glasgow Govan*; ED: 94; Page: 15; Line: 18; Roll: CSSCT1891_293.

⁸³² <https://familysearch.org/pal:/MM9.1.1/XTYV-3WL> -last accessed 29 April 2013.

⁸³³ 1871 census *Hobkirk*; ED: 2; Page: 5; Line: 15; Roll: CSSCT1871_179.

⁸³⁴ 1871 census *Edinburgh Greenside*; ED: 33; Page: 4; Line: 12; Roll: CSSCT1871_159.

⁸³⁵ Edinburgh School Board minutes, appendix IV attached to minute of 16 Nov 1891

⁸³⁶ Thomson, D.P. *Women of the Scottish Church*, Munro & Scott Ltd, Perth, 1975, p. 263.

⁸³⁷ Thomson, D.P. *Women of the Scottish Church*, Munro & Scott Ltd, Perth, 1975, p. 265.

⁸³⁸ I am grateful to Lis Smith, of St Andrews University, for information on Harriet Beck's LLA.

⁸³⁹ Edinburgh School Board minutes, appendix IV attached to minute of 16 Nov 1891

⁸⁴⁰ Edinburgh School Board minutes, appendix IV attached to minutes of 18 Nov 1901

in the E.I.S, chaired meetings,⁸⁴¹ gave papers,⁸⁴² and became a Fellow of the E.I.S.⁸⁴³ She was a member of Montessori society.⁸⁴⁴ She donated money to the S.W.H. during the First World War.⁸⁴⁵ Harriet Beck died in 1935, having been predeceased by both her sisters.⁸⁴⁶ She left a sum of money towards founding a nursery school in the Canongate.⁸⁴⁷ She was clearly upwardly socially mobile, having been born into a working class family. However, it would appear that she had not sought upward mobility per se, but had seen a well paid career as a means of supporting her sister's missionary work and the cause of the church. Moreover, her teaching career and E.I.S. involvement merged seamlessly with her church's concern for the poor of the Canongate. Whilst in Scotland on furlough in 1892, Janet Beck was ordained as a Deaconess,⁸⁴⁸ which, given the requirement to be self-supporting, was generally restricted to members of the upper middle or upper classes, but which working-class Janet had attained through the earnings of her twin sister. Harriet's salary, supplemented by the salary of the third Beck sister, Sarah, was sufficient for all three sisters to be upwardly socially mobile.

⁸⁴¹ See e.g. *Educational News* 1901, 28 Sept 1901, p. 689; *The Scotsman*, 22 Sept 1902.

⁸⁴² E.g. A paper on "Free Kindergartens for Neglected Children" see *The Scotsman*, 17 Feb 1902, p. 6 and a paper on "The Rise of Free Kindergartens in Edinburgh" see *The Scotsman* 22 Nov 1915, p. 9.

⁸⁴³ She is described as Miss Beck, LLA, F.E.I.S. in 1915. See *The Scotsman*, 22 Nov 1915, p. 9

⁸⁴⁴ *The Scotsman*, 15 Feb 1926, p. 5.

⁸⁴⁵ *The Scotsman* 27 June 1916, p.1.

⁸⁴⁶ A photograph of their gravestone may be seen at <http://www.corstorphineoldparish.org.uk/photos/11345471406.jpg>, last accessed 29 April 2013.

⁸⁴⁷ See *The Scotsman*, 22 Nov 1935, p. 13.

⁸⁴⁸ Thomson, D.P. *Women of the Scottish Church*, Munro & Scott Ltd, Perth, 1975, p. 268.



Free Kindergarten, Canongate.. Children washing doll's clothes. This kindergarten was founded by a bequest from Miss Howden, Infant Mistress of Milton House School. Harriet Beck was one of the Trustees.⁸⁴⁹

Can Harriet Beck be regarded as a 'lass o' pairts'? By any objective analysis she had used her education to access a career which provided her with a good salary and the means to further her interests in both a practical and intellectual manner. She is an example of a woman whose working class origins in no way held her back.

Aberdeen

Margaret Sutherland's father was a house carpenter. The family lived initially in Blackfriars Street, a poor part of Aberdeen, but moved to more prosperous Dee Street. Sutherland was promoted to Infant Mistress at Ashley Road School in 1888 and was living in affluent Osborne Place in 1890. She resigned in 1893 to marry Charles McHardy, a prosperous local coal merchant.⁸⁵⁰ McHardy was a widower with several

⁸⁴⁹ ©British Association for Early Childhood Education. Licensor www.scran.ac.uk.

⁸⁵⁰ The company Ellis and McHardy still exists today.

children. The family home, 2 Polmuir Road, had fourteen rooms, and two live-in servants, a cook and a housemaid. Charles McHardy died in 1900, leaving his widow to raise her step children. During her long widowhood, Sutherland became a member of the School Board and was active in public life. Sutherland came from a socially upwardly mobile family; her brother William became a solicitor and her brother James and sister Jane both became teachers. Sutherland loosely fits into the 'lass o' pairts' model. She was already living at a more prestigious address than her parents prior to her marriage, although her marriage boosted her upward mobility. Marriage is usually regarded as the main means of female upward social mobility for women in Victorian times, but in the case of female teachers, the issue is more complex, as they were usually on an upward trajectory before marriage, and met their future husbands largely because of their careers.

Like Sutherland, Margaret Bain's father was a house carpenter, although he was also known as an active member of the Congregational Church, and of the Liberal Party. Bain came first in her year in the Entrance exam to the Teacher Training College, and, once qualified, taught in St Paul St School, under Isabella Chalmers. In 1894 she was promoted to Second Mistress (i.e. Deputy Head) of St Paul Street School, on a salary of £120 p.a. Meanwhile, her elder brother Ebenezer had also pursued a successful career, in journalism. In 1897, at the age of forty, Bain married her brother's colleague, Robert Anderson. She gave up her teaching career, but became active in public life, in particular in the education of deaf children. In 1918 she was co-opted onto Aberdeen School Board and she was elected onto the new Educational Authority which replaced the School Board in 1919. In Bain's case she benefitted both from the upward mobility of her father and that of her elder brother, but her career was based on her own efforts. She was academically successful, and continued to study once qualified. She was also active in the E.I.S. The combination of academic achievement and career success also enables Bain to fit into the 'lass o' pairts' model.

Helen Robertson's father was a casual labourer and quarry worker, and so Robertson was one of the few women from an unskilled working class background to become a teacher. However, in Robertson's case, her mother's illegitimate elder half-

brother James Stevenson, was a Head teacher and a Fellow of the E.I.S. Robertson started her teaching career lodging with her uncle⁸⁵¹ and working in his school, St Andrew's, Aberdeen. She became Infant Mistress there. Her uncle was promoted to another school, but Robertson remained at St Andrew's, including a brief spell in 1887 of being Acting Head teacher. In contrast, Robertson's younger sister became a domestic servant who had an illegitimate child. Two of her brothers became shoemakers and two became tailors, indicating that the family was generally upwardly mobile, but Helen Robertson far more so than her siblings as she gained a promoted post as Infant Mistress.⁸⁵²

At the other end of the social scale, Henrietta Hall⁸⁵³ had a father in a middle class occupation, as an officer of the Inland Revenue. However, he died four days after Hall's fourteenth birthday, having been ill for three years.⁸⁵⁴ In the 1881 census her mother is supplementing the family income with a lodger. It has already been noted that many teachers were raised by widowed mothers, making it more difficult to assign them to a class of origin. In Hall's case, her father's long illness and early death may make it difficult to reliably describe her as 'middle-class.' In any event, her long teaching career, culminating in three consecutive posts as Infant Mistress, ensured her personal upward mobility.

⁸⁵¹ 1881 census 168-1 010 011

⁸⁵² McCall, Alison T. "*The Beloved Profession*"; *the Post-1872 Promotion of Women in the Public Elementary Schools of Aberdeen*. Unpublished M.Litt dissertation

⁸⁵³ 1866-1856. Hall was appointed Infant Mistress at Torry School in 1901.

⁸⁵⁴ Death certificate 1879-Old Machar-628.



*Mrs. SKEA,
St. Paul Street P.S.*

*Isabella Low Chalmers, Mrs Skea.*⁸⁵⁵

One woman who clearly followed the ‘lass o’ pairts’ route was Isabella Chalmers, Mrs Skea, who has been referred to repeatedly throughout this thesis. Isabella Low Chalmers was born at Laverock Braes, Bridge of Don, on 16 January 1845, the youngest of seven children of George Chalmers, a tenant farmer on the Grandholme estate, and his wife, Elspet Low. Elspet died when Isabella was young, and her elder sister Margaret became the family housekeeper. Isabella was taught at Whitestripes School where, in the words of her obituary, ‘the master, with that perception which was the characteristic of the old parochial system, noticed the promise of his young pupil, and advised her to take up education as her future career.’ At her teacher’s suggestion, Isabella went to the Free South School in Charlotte Street and from there became a pupil teacher at York Street School, under Miss Anderson. Additionally, she attended classes at the Mechanics’ Institute. She went to Edinburgh to study at the Church of Scotland Training College, around 1867. Dr Currie, the head of the training college, was impressed by Chalmers, and recommended her for the post of Girls’ Head at the East Parish Sessional School in

⁸⁵⁵ Hector, Thomas “Educational Progress; the Work of the School Board in Twenty-five years, *Bon Accord* 1907, Aberdeen 1907.

Aberdeen. When the East Parish School was taken over by the school board following the Education Act of 1872, the East Parish stipulated that ‘Miss Isabella Low Chalmers, teacher of the girls’ department, be continued in office, she having proved a highly successful teacher’. The school was renamed St Paul Street Public Elementary School. She subsequently became overall head of St Paul Street School, a position she held until her retirement in 1908. She excelled in every area of teaching. She particularly enjoyed training pupil teachers, at which she was notably successful. Isabella Chalmers became a member of the E.I.S. and was the fifth woman to become a Fellow of the Institute, and the first woman to sit on the General Council.⁸⁵⁶ She built up a library at St Paul Street School, and advised the E.I.S. on matters relating to school libraries. This was a surprisingly hot topic; the council wanted school libraries to be off-shoots of the Public Library, with the budget controlled by them, whereas Chalmers argued that schools should control their own libraries, with the budget controlled by the head teacher.

As stated previously, her ‘payment by results’ bonus ensured that she was one of the most highly paid teachers in Aberdeen.⁸⁵⁷ By 1878 she had saved enough to be able to buy a house at 17 Albert Place, Aberdeen, where she lived with a live-in domestic servant. By this time her lifestyle was in sharp contrast to that of her brothers and sisters. On Christmas day 1884, Isabella Chalmers married William Skea, a journalist. The couple collaborated in the 1880s on a series of school textbooks, *The Combined Class Series*, written by Isabella and published by William. At that time, textbooks were paid for by parents, who liked to know they were getting value for money. As a result, newspapers carried reviews of textbooks, and *The Combined Class Series* was highly praised in the *Glasgow Herald*, the *Scotsman* and the *Dundee Advertiser*, as well as the local Aberdeen papers.

St Paul Street School was expanded piecemeal on several occasions until 1897, when the school board acquired a neighbouring property, allowing an ambitious rebuild. When the new school was opened, it could accommodate 1,000 pupils. Mrs Skea believed that at that time, no other woman in Scotland was head of such a large mixed-

⁸⁵⁶ Northcroft, David, *Scots At School; an Anthology*, EUP, 2003, pp. 129-131.

⁸⁵⁷ See p. 194

sex public elementary school. A few years later Torry school was extended and renamed Victoria Road School. It, too, could accommodate a thousand pupils and it too had a female head; Elizabeth Nisbet, mentioned above. Isabella Skea died at home on 7 October 1914. There is no doubt that she was seen as a ‘lass o’ pairts’; her obituary is framed within the classic narrative of the ‘lad.’

Conclusion

In conclusion, in this chapter I have demonstrated that a variety of promoted posts were open to women, although by far the most common was that of Infant Mistress, a post held exclusively by women. There was considerable regional variation in the posts which women held, with Dundee having a structure unique in Scotland, whereby the Infant Mistress was not subordinate to the head teacher, but answerable only to the School Board. Govan was notable for the young age at which it promoted women, although the salaries paid to promoted female teachers were comparatively low; it is possible that there was a correlation. Edinburgh was a by-word for high salaries, with Edinburgh School Board striving to attract the best qualified teachers in Scotland. However it was in Aberdeen that women were most likely to follow the ‘lass o’ pairts’ route from working class (albeit skilled working class) to a professional career. Examples of the lass o’ pairts can be found in many parts of Scotland (although not in east Sutherland.) Undoubtedly Isabella Chalmers, the farmer’s daughter who travelled to Edinburgh to train, became head teacher of St Paul Street School, the fifth woman to become a FEIS and the first to sit on the General Council of the E.I.S, and who earned over £200 p.a. for most of her long working life, ultimately living in Aberdeen’s West End with three domestic servants, was the epitome of the Victorian lass o’ pairts, but she was one of several; for example, Jessie Gordon Shaw in Dundee and Harriet Beck in Edinburgh also followed the lass o’ pairts narrative, although Beck’s motivation was religious.

In an editorial, the *Scotsman* noted approvingly that many of the female teachers employed by Edinburgh School Board were upwardly socially mobile;

It may well be doubted whether the energy of those who rise is not a greater advantage to the country than the refinement of those who do not need to rise....It is by no means clear that if all the schoolmasters and schoolmistresses in the country were ladies and gentlemen by birth and breeding the teaching of the population would, taking everything together, be more effectively performed than it is at present, by the meritorious individuals whose self-elevation, in most cases, from a humbler position than that which they now occupy is the clearest proof of their force of character.⁸⁵⁸

The editor of *The Scotsman* clearly recognised that most of Edinburgh's female schoolteachers were upwardly socially mobile, and that they had achieved this through their own education and subsequent career. This editorial pre-dates the expression 'lad o' pairts' but clearly describes what was subsequently understood to be the 'lad' and applies this description to both male and female without distinction. A career in teaching was seen by contemporaries as a means of upward mobility; it is unsurprising that the numbers of women attempting to access a teaching career through pupil teacherships and Training College were so high. Moreover, the existence of Infant Mistresses in every large and many medium sized school ensured that most Victorian children would have had experience of a woman in a professional, promoted post. These women provided a role model for generations of schoolgirls, who would have had daily experience in their formative years of a Victorian woman who fell outwith the separate sphere of home and family. I would argue that female teachers in promoted posts had an influence over Victorian society greater than might be suggested by the small proportion of female teachers who achieved a promoted post.

⁸⁵⁸ *The Scotsman*, 11 Dec 1876, p. 4.

Chapter Seven

The Education of Roman Catholic Girls in Victorian Scotland

Introduction

This thesis has focussed on the education provided prior to 1872 by a variety of Protestant church run schools and other schools which catered primarily to Protestants and after 1872 by schools under School Board control. There was a parallel provision of education for Roman Catholic girls, and it is this which I intend to focus on in this chapter. A comparison of the two systems may help illuminate facets of both systems. The extent to which Roman Catholic education was an issue varies from region to region in Scotland. The situation in Sutherland was quite different from that in Aberdeen and Edinburgh, which in turn were distinct from Dundee and Govan. Roman Catholic education in Scotland is a story of two separate traditions, fused into one, but in which each tradition remained clearly defined. Firstly, there were the old Scottish Catholic families, largely concentrated in the rural north east of Scotland and some of the Western islands, keenly aware of their history. A small minority of these families were wealthy, but many came from the same respectable, upwardly mobile skilled working or middle class, which, in Protestant circles, provided most of the teachers in Presbyterian run schools. Secondly, there were the poor Irish immigrants, largely concentrated in the south west of Scotland, and industrial areas. In addition to differing from the old Scottish Catholics in terms of nationality, class and status, they also differed in religious practice. Parsons comments that pre-Famine Irish Catholicism was ‘prone to laxity in matters of ecclesiastical discipline, lacking in clergy of sufficient numbers and quality, and, at the popular level, much committed to rites of passage, pilgrimages and folk religion, but lukewarm in matters of regular religious practice, such as attendance at mass and confession.’⁸⁵⁹ The old Scottish Catholics, although numerically smaller, initially provided most of the money, the priests and nuns who entered the teaching orders, and the lay teachers for the schools and therefore determined the policies and ethos of

⁸⁵⁹ Parsons, Gerald, “Victorian Roman Catholicism: Emancipation, Expansion and Achievement” in Parsons, Gerald (ed) *Religion in Victorian Britain: Traditions*, M.U.P. 1988, p. 164.

Catholic education in Scotland. The Irish Catholics, numerically larger, provided the pupils for the schools, and other social needs. There was a constant tension between the ideals espoused by the former and the needs of the latter. Several sources appear to focus on one or the other, giving an impression that one or the other was responsible for the main narrative thread of Scottish Catholic education. Scotland⁸⁶⁰, and Anderson⁸⁶¹ both focus on the Irish immigrant majority. Devine remarks of Catholic education, post 1872 that ‘Catholic provision, despite valiant efforts by the Irish immigrant community, lagged far behind the non-denominational sector.’⁸⁶² I would argue that this statement overlooks the ‘valiant efforts’ of the old Scottish community. McDermid’s focus on working-class education also perforce concentrates on the south west majority.⁸⁶³ O’Hagan and Davis emphasised the immigrant nature of Scottish Catholicism within the Scottish education system thus: ‘In important respects no more than the priest caste of an ethnically alien and educationally backward immigrant population washed up on the shores of the world’s first industrial society, the Catholic Church succeeded in assuaging centuries of sectarian enmity and incomprehension, conducting a skillful fifty year dialogue with the ruling professional elites of Scottish education, the growing consensus culture of which sat in almost inverse relation to the declining influence and power of the national Presbyterian Church.’⁸⁶⁴ This statement entirely ignores the influential Scottish Catholics, including many from the well-educated north east of Scotland. Kehoe’s focus, by contrast, is on the influential minority.⁸⁶⁵ A gendered study which covers different areas of Scotland must cover both, clearly distinguishing each strand and yet weaving two quite different strands into one whole. Indeed, the tension between the two strands in itself forms part of the story, as much of the impetus for old Scottish Catholics to provide resources for education was motivated by a need to make the Catholicism practiced by

⁸⁶⁰ Scotland, James, *The History of Scottish Education*, Vol 2, University of London Press Ltd, 1969. See e.g. p. 44.

⁸⁶¹ Anderson, R.D. *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918* Clarendon Press, 1995.

⁸⁶² Devine, T.M. *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007*, London, Penguin Books, 2006, p. 404.

⁸⁶³ McDermid, Jane. *The Schooling of Working-class girls in Victorian Scotland*, Oxford, Routledge, 2005.

⁸⁶⁴ O’Hagan, Francis and Davis, Robert A. ‘Forging the compact of church and state in the development of Catholic education in late C19th Scotland’ *Innes Review*, Vol 58, No. 1, Spring 2007, p. 76.

⁸⁶⁵ Kehoe, Karly, *Creating a Scottish Church; Catholicism, gender and ethnicity in nineteenth century Scotland*, M.U.P., 2010.

immigrants less ‘Irish’ and more ‘Scottish’ (or ‘British’; Parsons describes a similar process in England).⁸⁶⁶

Kehoe remarks that ‘the tendency for scholars to focus on the clergy, or on wealthy members of the laity has meant that an entire dimension of the Catholic experience in Scotland has been overlooked.’⁸⁶⁷ Intriguingly, she points out that;

By the turn of the twentieth century the church had been almost entirely transformed and bore little resemblance to that which existed before 1850.... Much of the transformation involved the introduction of educational and social welfare institutions, and through these initiatives Scottish Catholics participated in civil society and helped to extend a sense of national identity.⁸⁶⁸

Kehoe’s assertion that Scottish Catholics were anxious to participate in civil society and identify with national identity raises an interesting point; if the ‘lad o’ pairs’ was accepted as a marker of Scottish identity in the nineteenth century, then this should be one of the features adopted by Catholics. If, as I hope to prove during the course of my thesis, women also identified with the ‘democratic intellect’ then this should also be mirrored in Catholic experience, unless there were specific identifiable gendered reasons within Catholicism to counter it. An examination of Catholic female education therefore will be doubly valuable; firstly because statistically Catholics formed a sizeable proportion of the population in Dundee and Govan, but secondly, and more intriguingly, because it may provide insight into nineteenth century perceptions of the interplay between the role of women, education and Scottish identity.

McDermid argues that there is ‘a need to integrate Catholics into the nineteenth-century questioning of Scottish identity’ because the presence of a non-Presbyterian, non-

⁸⁶⁶ Parsons, Gerald, “Victorian Roman Catholicism: Emancipation, Expansion and Achievement” in Parsons, Gerald (ed) *Religion in Victorian Britain: Traditions*, M.U.P. 1988, see e.g. p. 154.

⁸⁶⁷ Kehoe, Karly, *Creating a Scottish Church; Catholicism, gender and ethnicity in nineteenth century Scotland*, M.U.P., 2010, p. 12.

⁸⁶⁸ Kehoe, Karly, *Creating a Scottish Church; Catholicism, gender and ethnicity in nineteenth century Scotland*, M.U.P., 2010, p. 10.

Scottish significant minority within Scotland contributed to the need to define a national identity, and also because ‘concern for education assimilated Catholics into the institutional structure of Scottish life’⁸⁶⁹ and this point is also made by Kehoe who states that;

During the nineteenth century Scottish identity was re-invented as a testament to both liberalism and an enthusiastic imperialism. The principal protagonists were the bourgeoisie, whose growing political enfranchisement, philanthropic drive and ‘committed Christianity’ gave rise to a civil society that cemented Scottish autonomy in Britain and reaffirmed the dominance of Presbyterianism.⁸⁷⁰

It is generally accepted that ‘Scottish autonomy’ in Britain refers to Scotland’s separate legal, religious and educational systems within the Union. Kehoe adds;

What is rarely appreciated in the Scottish context is that middle- and upper-class Catholics were mirroring the activities of their Protestant brethren in an effort to claim a role as active participants in the campaign for moral and social change.⁸⁷¹

Kehoe later elaborates;

The Catholic Church introduced initiatives that mirrored Protestant ones in terms of access to spiritual guidance, social services and education...The progress made with education, albeit limited during this period (i.e.1830-1860) demonstrates the willingness of Catholic authorities to engage with Scotland’s national tradition of education and with the ambitions of the British state.⁸⁷²

⁸⁶⁹ McDermid, Jane. *The Schooling of Working-class girls in Victorian Scotland*, Routledge, 2005, p. 20.

⁸⁷⁰ Kehoe, Karly, *Creating a Scottish Church; Catholicism, gender and ethnicity in nineteenth century Scotland* M.U.P, 2010, p. 51.

⁸⁷¹ Kehoe, Karly, *Creating a Scottish Church; Catholicism, gender and ethnicity in nineteenth century Scotland* M.U.P, 2010, p. 51.


⁸⁷² Kehoe, Karly, *Creating a Scottish Church; Catholicism, gender and ethnicity in nineteenth century Scotland* M.U.P. 2010, p. 59.

It will be interesting to see how this ‘engagement’ helps clarify nineteenth century understanding of what exactly the ‘national tradition of education’ was. Moreover, McDermid points out that ‘economics, rather than resistance to the Presbyterian ‘democratic intellect’, kept the Catholics of Glasgow outside of the national educational tradition.’⁸⁷³ Poverty would always override theory, possibly making it difficult to discern what the theory was.

In respect of gender, however, Catholic education could not ‘mirror’ Protestant education due to the involvement and experience of women religious. Kehoe argues that that the presence of women religious was a vital factor in the provision of an educational infrastructure, regarded as important to Scottish Catholics who wanted to identify themselves as loyal members of the state. The first post-Reformation convent in Scotland was established in Edinburgh in 1834, by the Ursulines of Jesus, an upper class French sisterhood. The purchase price of the convent was provided by Menzies of Pitfodel who stipulated that it was to be a ‘Roman Catholic Seminary for the education of the daughters of the higher class of Roman Catholics in Scotland and for other religious purposes.’⁸⁷⁴ Given this stipulation, it may be safely assumed that no ‘lasses o’ pairts’ were to be nurtured there. Two of the Ursulines were Scottish. The first, Agnes Xavier Trail was the daughter of a Church of Scotland minister. She had trained as an artist and had spent two years in Italy, during which she had converted.⁸⁷⁵ She joined the Ursulines in France, and then came to Scotland as part of the first group of nuns. She taught drawing to the girls at the school. The second, Margaret Teresa Clapperton, came from Fochabers and was the first Scottish women to enter a convent on Scottish soil since the Reformation. Margaret Clapperton’s father was a merchant in Fochabers, and several members of the wider Clapperton family were active in the Roman Catholic church.⁸⁷⁶

⁸⁷³ McDermid, Jane. *The Schooling of Working-class girls in Victorian Scotland*, Routledge, 2005, p. 65.

⁸⁷⁴ Kehoe, Karly, *Creating a Scottish Church; Catholicism, gender and ethnicity in nineteenth century Scotland* M.U.P, 2010, p.77.

⁸⁷⁵ See e.g. Bernard Aspinwall, ‘Trail, Ann Agnes (1798–1872)’, *Oxford Dictionary of National Biography*, Oxford University Press, 2004 [<http://www.oxforddnb.com/view/article/45566>, accessed  10 June 2011] and Pipes, R., Ewan, E., Innes, S., and Reynolds, S. (eds) *Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women*, Edinburgh, 2006, EUP, pp. 355-56.

⁸⁷⁶ There is a stained glass window to the family in St Mary’s Church, Fochabers.

Between 1834 and 1858, eight communities of women religious were established in Scotland, all in either Edinburgh or Glasgow. Between 1858 and 1868 a further fourteen new communities were established, including two in Aberdeen and Dundee. Kehoe claims that the women religious ‘came to wield tremendous influence over church development, since their congregational ethos gave them an official social and religious mandate to establish an institutional infrastructure of schools, hospitals, care homes and asylums.’⁸⁷⁷ Stewart points out that ‘the resources of teaching orders were what made Scotland’s voluntary Catholic schools financially viable until they came into the national system in 1918.’⁸⁷⁸ Male communities were fewer in number. Amongst the laity, several societies were formed, and one, the Association of St Margaret, was involved in education, giving grants to teachers in training and improving schools. In Edinburgh fee paying private schools aimed at the middle classes in the Cowgate, on South Bridge and on Scotland Street, and schools for the poor in Blackfriars Wynd, the High Street, West Port and Leith were established. These latter schools were supported by congregational subscriptions, and charged minimal fees.⁸⁷⁹ Some of these Edinburgh schools were the first to open themselves to government inspection.

Kehoe is particularly interesting on her analysis of the role of women in the construction of a system of Catholic education. She argues that women were the main agents of educational provision. Unlike the teaching profession as a whole in Scotland, which gradually feminised over the course of the latter nineteenth century, Kehoe argues that women were in the majority from the start. Intriguingly, Kehoe argues that Catholicism created more opportunities for women than mainstream society because it gave women the opportunity to become nuns within a teaching Order. ‘For those women who felt that teaching rather than marriage was their vocation, entering the religious life was often the best way to secure their career.’⁸⁸⁰ This addresses an interesting point; did

⁸⁷⁷ Kehoe, Karly, *Creating a Scottish Church; Catholicism, gender and ethnicity in nineteenth century Scotland* M.U.P, 2010, p. 69.

⁸⁷⁸ Stewart, Ian, ‘Teacher Careers of the Early Catholic Schools of Edinburgh’, *Innes Review*, Vol XLVI, No.1. 1995, p. 64.

⁸⁷⁹ Kehoe, Karly, *Creating a Scottish Church; Catholicism, gender and ethnicity in nineteenth century Scotland* M.U.P, 2010, pp. 59-60.

⁸⁸⁰ Kehoe, Karly, *Creating a Scottish Church; Catholicism, gender and ethnicity in nineteenth century Scotland* M.U.P, 2010, p. 135.

women in Victorian Scotland choose to prioritise career over marriage and motherhood, or did it simply happen that many teachers remained unmarried, possibly through no choice of their own? Kehoe clearly believes some Catholic women chose to opt out of marriage and that becoming a nun gave them the opportunity to do so; because becoming a nun involves a clear renunciation of future marriage. I would argue that Protestant women, too, may have actively chosen a career in teaching over marriage, but for them there was no defining point of irrevocable decision. I do not believe that Catholic women alone had the option to choose not to marry.

Kehoe states, erroneously, that ‘in urban areas ...Protestant schoolmistresses were restricted to infant schools or female industrial departments because they were thought to be too delicate for the urban environment.’⁸⁸¹ This is simply not the case⁸⁸², but this false premise allows Kehoe to continue;

In contrast, Catholic sisters and nuns delivered a female-centred programme to the urban mission. Motivated by a desire to do good work, they assumed levels of professionalism that were well beyond the reach of the vast majority of women, whose domestic responsibilities prevented them from dedicating themselves to teaching.⁸⁸³

However, clearly the existence of Church of Scotland, Free Church and Episcopal run teacher training colleges meant that ‘professionalism’ was attained by many non-Catholic women, who did manage to ‘dedicate themselves to teaching.’ Indeed Fitzpatrick states that the Catholic Poor Schools Committee (CPSC) was forced to provide teacher training in the 1850s because ‘the first Catholic women Queen’s Scholars were faced with the

⁸⁸¹ Kehoe, Karly, *Creating a Scottish Church; Catholicism, gender and ethnicity in nineteenth century Scotland* M.U.P, 2010, p. 111.

⁸⁸² see e.g. McCall, Alison T. “The Beloved Profession”; the Post-1872 Promotion of Women in the Public Elementary Schools of Aberdeen. Unpublished M.Litt dissertation. The first six chapters of this thesis also clearly illustrate that women taught in urban environments.

⁸⁸³ Kehoe, Karly, *Creating a Scottish Church; Catholicism, gender and ethnicity in nineteenth century Scotland* M.U.P, 2010, p. 111.

alternatives of training in a non-Catholic college or abandoning teaching altogether.’⁸⁸⁴ This training was based in England, although open to Scots.

Moreover, McDermid points out that, although the religious orders played a large part in the education of middle class Catholic children, the majority of working class Catholics were educated by lay teachers, because there were simply not enough women religious to staff every post.⁸⁸⁵ McDermid also states that;

Catholic efforts, post-1872, to promote, through education, upward social mobility ...focussed on boys. However, as demands for teachers grew, which the religious orders could not meet, Catholic girls could aspire to improve their status, albeit within a male-dominated profession and church.⁸⁸⁶

Kehoe claims that ‘Although Catholic education would stand out for its insular character, it did succeed in making the myth of a democratic tradition more of a reality since it ensured the inclusion of two previously excluded populations, Catholics and women.’⁸⁸⁷ I would argue that women were *not* excluded from the ‘myth of a democratic tradition’ but it is fascinating that Kehoe is making many of the arguments about female teachers which I would also make, but starting with a different premise and concluding that Catholicism was the defining characteristic.

Teacher Training

One drawback faced by Catholic women was that there was no teacher training college in Scotland until Dowanhill opened in 1895. Until then, trained teachers were either imported from elsewhere, such as England or France, or had to go to Liverpool to attend Mount Pleasant training college which was founded by the Sisters of Notre Dame

⁸⁸⁴ Fitzpatrick, T.A. *No Mean Service; Scottish Catholic Teacher Education 1895-1995*, St. Andrew’s College, Bearsden, 1995, p. 26.

⁸⁸⁵ McDermid, Jane. *The Schooling of Working-class girls in Victorian Scotland*, Routledge, 2005, p. 21.

⁸⁸⁶ McDermid, Jane. *The Schooling of Working-class girls in Victorian Scotland*, Routledge, 2005, p. 23

⁸⁸⁷ Kehoe, Karly, *Creating a Scottish Church; Catholicism, gender and ethnicity in nineteenth century Scotland* M.U.P., 2010, p. 111.

de Namur in 1856. Scottish women attended Mount Pleasant from the start; Mary Jane Smith and Catherine McGarvie⁸⁸⁸ from Edinburgh and Elizabeth McDonald of Galashiels in the first year, followed by Elizabeth Gordon from Banff the following year.⁸⁸⁹ All four were from the original Scottish Catholic community. All subsequently became nuns, although only one returned to Scotland. One middle class Aberdonian families, the Cattanachs, sent a daughter, Mary Cattanach, of Aberdeen went to Mount Pleasant, in 1858.⁸⁹⁰ The Mount Pleasant records show that she had been a pupil teacher in Aberdeen, but do not indicate which school.⁸⁹¹ Mary's father, Charles Cattanach, was a draper specialising in military uniforms, employing several staff.⁸⁹² He had moved into Aberdeen from Birse, an 'old Catholic' area on the edge of the Cairngorms. Although it is not possible to know Mary's knowledge of her family history the Cattanachs, part of Clan Chattan, were active Jacobites during the 1745. Her mother, Elspet Milne,⁸⁹³ was from Bellie, by Fochabers. In 1861 Cattanach was teaching in Perth,⁸⁹⁴ before moving to Glasgow where she taught at least until her marriage in 1872.⁸⁹⁵ Cattanach appears to have been the only woman from Aberdeen to train at Mount Pleasant, although others came from the rural areas of the North East; four from Buckie, three from Dufftown, and one each from Banff, Portsoy and Tomintoul.⁸⁹⁶ Between 1856 and 1878, 106 Scottish girls trained in Liverpool, with a further 66 training there between 1878 and 1895. However, Fitzpatrick points out that many of these either remained furth of Scotland, or did not become teachers, with others having brief teaching careers ending on marriage. Thus 'the acquisition of teaching strength to the schools of Scotland was less than might

⁸⁸⁸ See Stewart, Ian, 'Teacher Careers and the Early Catholic Schools of Edinburgh', *Innes Review*, Vol XLVI, No 1., 1995, p. 57 for a short biography of Catherine Matilda McGarvie.

⁸⁸⁹ Fitzpatrick, T.A. *No Mean Service; Scottish Catholic Teacher Education 1895-1995*, Glasgow, 1995, St. Andrew's College, Bearsden, p. 28.

⁸⁹⁰ Aspinwall, B. 'Catholic Teachers for Scotland: the Liverpool Connection', *Innes Review*, Vol XLV, No. 1, Spring 1994, p. 53.

⁸⁹¹ Aspinwall, B. 'Catholic Teachers for Scotland: the Liverpool Connection', *Innes Review*, Vol XLV, No. 1, Spring 1994, p. 53.

⁸⁹² E.g. 1841 census, ref 168/OM 21 1 10, 1881 census ref 168/1 30 02. In the latter, Charles Cattanach was employing 5 men, 2 girls and 1 boy.

⁸⁹³ (Milne was born c1803. Margaret Clapperton, mentioned above as the first Scottish woman to become a nun in Scotland since the Reformation, was baptised in Bellie in 1811.)

⁸⁹⁴ 1861 census *Perth Burgh*; ED: 3; Page: 34; Line: 21; Roll: CSSCT1861_51.

⁸⁹⁵ She married James Haley on 17 July 1872. Marriage certificate 1872 168/02 0198.

⁸⁹⁶ Aspinwall, B. 'Catholic Teachers for Scotland: the Liverpool Connection', *Innes Review*, Vol XLV, No. 1, Spring 1994, pp. 52-63.

appear from these figures.⁸⁹⁷ In addition to the main college at Liverpool, 90 Scottish girls had trained at Catholic colleges at Hammersmith and 26 at Wandsworth.⁸⁹⁸ Numbers were restricted by the greater costs involved in training far from home, but Aspinwall points out that 'The experience of studying away from home enabled both groups⁸⁹⁹ to achieve a remarkable degree of geographical mobility, given the confined social position of women in Victorian Britain.'⁹⁰⁰ Such women as returned to teach in Scotland brought with them a breadth of experience rarely matched by teachers in the state Public Elementary Schools. It was possible for girls to attend, not just the Teacher Training College, but also the attached Pupil Teachers' College which boarded pupil teachers from the age of thirteen on. According to Fitzpatrick, 'Of the 106 Scots girls who trained at Mount Pleasant between 1855-1878, 50 belonged to the Western District, 46 to the Eastern and 10 to the Northern District.'⁹⁰¹ From 1878 until the opening of the first Scottish Roman Catholic Training College at Dowanhill in 1895, a further 51 students from Glasgow Archdiocese and 15 from St Andrews and Edinburgh completed training there.'⁹⁰² This suggests that from 1878 on the Glasgow diocese, dominated by Irish Catholics, supplied over three-quarters of the students.⁹⁰³ It may be necessary to unpack these figures somewhat.

⁸⁹⁷ Fitzpatrick, T.A. *No Mean Service; Scottish Catholic Teacher Education 1895-1995*, St. Andrew's College, Bearsden, 1995, p. 29.

⁸⁹⁸ Aspinwall, B. 'Catholic Teachers for Scotland: the Liverpool Connection', *Innes Review*, Vol XLV, No. 1, Spring 1994, p. 47.

⁸⁹⁹ I.e. both those from Scotland and those who had travelled from various parts of England.

⁹⁰⁰ Aspinwall, B. 'Catholic Teachers for Scotland: the Liverpool Connection', *Innes Review*, Vol XLV, No. 1, Spring 1994, p. 48.

⁹⁰¹ Prior to 1878, there were three Catholic ecclesiastic provinces in Scotland; the Western, Eastern and Northern Districts. In 1878 these were reduced to two; St Andrews and Edinburgh archdiocese and Glasgow archdiocese.

⁹⁰² Fitzpatrick, T.A. 'Scottish Catholic Teacher Education: the Wider Context', *Innes Review*, Vol XLV, No. 2, Aut 1994, p. 156.

⁹⁰³ The geographic structure of the Roman Catholic Church in Scotland was altered in 1878, when Pope Leo formally restored the hierarchy, creating two archdioceses to replace the three districts which had formed the previous administrative structure.

Table 7.1 Scottish Trainee female Roman Catholic teachers at Mount Pleasant College, Liverpool, in 1881 and 1891.⁹⁰⁴

<i>Name</i>	<i>Census</i>	<i>Age</i>	<i>Occupation</i>	<i>Birthplace</i>	<i>Father's occupation</i>	<i>Father's Birthplace</i>
Burton, Jane Eliza	1881	33	School Teacher	Ayr	Portrait painter / photographer	France
McGarvie, Catherine	1881 1891	42 52	Teacher Teacher (Practising School)	Edinburgh	Tailor	Edinburgh
MacPherson, Agnes	1881 1891	37 47	Teacher Music Teacher	Edinburgh	Master plasterer with own business	Edinburgh
Church, Rachel	1881	19	Student	Lanarkshire	Miner	Ireland
Macdonald, Ann	1881	20	Student	Inverness shire	-	-
McBrearty, Margaret A.	1881	22	Student	Stirlingshire	Civil assistant, Ordnance survey.	Ireland
Chisholm, Georgina	1881	15	Pupil Teacher	Inverness shire	Ship broker	Inverness shire
Fagan, Margaret	1881	18	Pupil Teacher	Inverness shire	Headmaster	Ireland
Chisholm, Matilda	1881	17	Pupil Teacher	Inverness shire	Shipbroker.	Inverness shire.
McHardy, (Janie?)	1881	15	Pupil Teacher	Fifeshire	-	-
Kelly, Jane	1891	19	Student	Govan	Boilermaker	Paisley

⁹⁰⁴ Ancestry.com. 1881 England Census Class: RG11; Piece: 3627; Folio: 26; Page: 2; GSU roll: 1341868. Ancestry.com. 1891 England Census, Class: RG12; Piece: 2915; Folio: 121; Page: 2; GSU Roll: 6098025.

Gallacher, Agnes	1891	19	Student	Glasgow	Foreman fitter (shipbuilders)	Port Glasgow
McLernan, Elizabeth	1891	19	Student	Scotland	-	-
Murray, Mary Ann	1891	19	Student	Scotland	-	-
O'Hagan, Mary	1891	20	Student	Scotland	-	
Hardie, Rose	1891	17	Pupil teacher	Glasgow	Cabinet Maker/ Upholsterer	Glasgow
Fraser, Annie	1891	15	Pupil teacher	Scotland	-	-
Egan, Mary Margaret	1891	14	Pupil teacher	Glasgow	Provision assistant	Ireland
McKintosh Mary	1891	14	Pupil teacher	Inverness shire	-	-

Table 7.1 lists the Scots at Mount Pleasant in the 1881 and 1891 censuses. The censuses show nineteen Scots at Mount Pleasant; three staff (including Catherine McGarvie, one of the first Scots to train there), eight students and eight pupil teachers.⁹⁰⁵ Teacher Jane Eliza Burton was born in Ayr, but her family roots were cosmopolitan; her father, Francis, was a French-born portrait painter and photographer, her mother, Elicia McDonald, had been born in New Brunswick, her elder brother, John, was born in Ireland, and by 1861 the family had moved to England.⁹⁰⁶ Five of the sixteen students and pupil teachers were born in Inverness-shire, a surprisingly high number given Fitzpatrick's assertion that students came overwhelmingly from Glasgow. These were

⁹⁰⁵ 1881 census Class: *RG11*; Piece: 3627; Folio: 26; Page: 2; GSU roll: 1341868, ancestry.com last accessed 11 June 2013.

⁹⁰⁶ 1861 census Class: *RG 9*; Piece: 3137; Folio: 32; Page: 2; GSU roll: 543085, ancestry.com last accessed 11 June 2013.

either anomalous years, or the origins of the students needs to be closely examined. Margaret Fagan, for example, was born and raised in Inverness-shire, of an Irish father and Scottish mother. Her family moved to West Greenock where her father was a headmaster. Therefore she is likely to be included as originating from the Glasgow archdiocese. Sisters Matilda and Georgina Chisholm, were from Kilmorack, Invernesshire. Two of their paternal uncles, Archibald and Hugh, were priests in Glasgow and Paisley, and a paternal cousin, Jessie, was a Franciscan nun in Glasgow.⁹⁰⁷ The Chisholm sisters therefore had strong connections with Glasgow diocese despite being part of an 'old Scottish' family. It may be that several of those who came to Mount Pleasant from the Glasgow archdiocese were from families which had originated in other parts of Scotland.

Those who chose not to travel outwith Scotland for teacher training entered the standard examination for entry to the non-Catholic Training colleges in Scotland. All candidates sat a standard entrance exam, irrespective of which college they hoped to attend. The pass list includes the candidate's preference after their name. All the applicants to Dowanhill came from Catholic schools, but there were applicants to the Episcopalian training college in Edinburgh from a variety of Episcopalian schools and public schools. For the purpose of these tables I have included only those at Episcopalian schools. Prior to Dowanhill opening, most Catholic candidates were hoping to attend one of the Church of Scotland colleges, but a minority had applied to a Free Church College.

The Catholic results were notably poor, as is shown in the following tables. For example, in 1894, 822 women sat the examination. Table 7.2 shows the position in the pass lists of both Episcopalians and Roman Catholics:

⁹⁰⁷ MacKenzie, Alexander, *History of the Chisholms, with genealogies of the principal families of the name*, A&W. MacKenzie, 1891, p.145

Table 7.2 Position in pass list of Entrance Examination to teacher training college of candidates from religious schools in 1894.

	1-100	101-200	201-300	301-400	401-500	501-600	601-700	701-800	801-822	Total
Episcopalian	1		1	4	2	5	3	6	-	22
Roman Catholic	-	-	1	1	2	4	3	6	2	19

Source: Educational News 1894, pp. 639-643.

The absence of any Catholics in the top two hundred may be explained if the best candidates were going to England, but there can be no explanation for the presence of eleven in the bottom 220, other than poor education. The majority, thirteen, came from the industrial south west, and a further two from Dundee. Only one, second placed Catherine Cameron from Oban, appears to have come from an ‘old Scottish’ Catholic family, which may also suggest that wealthier students were going to England. The two highest placed in this list, Kath Kean, from St Aloysius, Glasgow (at 254) and the said Catherine Cameron (at 391) subsequently trained at Dowanhill. The situation the following year was broadly similar, although there were fewer candidates sitting the exam:

Table 7.3. Position in pass list of Entrance Examination to teacher training college of candidates from religious schools in 1895.

	1-100	101-200	201-300	301-400	401-500	501-564	Total
Episcopalian	2	2	3	7	6	6	26
Roman Catholic	-	-	-	2	11	6	19

Source: Educational News 1895, pp. 241-244.

Again, there was no even distribution, but a clustering around the bottom of the list. The second best Catholic candidate, Mary A McAllister, from St Joseph’s School, Glasgow, had entered the exam the year before, coming 579th. In 1895 she came 369th. Again, the majority of Catholic candidates came from the industrial south west, only

Georgina Winchester, from Buckie, being identifiable as ‘old Scottish.’ Winchester’s father was a ship’s carpenter who became a shipmaster. Three of the Aberdeen teachers who held promoted posts in Aberdeen’s School Board schools were shipmasters’ daughters.⁹⁰⁸ This suggests that there might be little or no difference between the aspirations of upwardly mobile Protestant and Catholic Scottish shipmasters. Winchester subsequently taught for forty years at St Peter’s Roman Catholic School in Buckie, and died in 1956. To test my hypothesis that the best candidates were going to train in England, and that these best candidates would be from ‘old Scottish’ families, I examined the results from 1899 and 1900, after Dowanhill was included in the training colleges, for which entrance was by centralised examination.

Table 7.4. Position in pass list of Entrance Examination to teacher training college of candidates from religious schools in 1899.

	1- 100	101- 200	201- 300	301- 400	401- 500	501- 600	601- 700	701- 800	801- 900	901- 1012	Total
Episcopalian	-	-	1	3	1	1	-	2	4	7	19
Roman Catholic	2	-	1	1	4	3	4	5	7	14	41

Source: Educational News 1899, pp. 235-250.

Table 7.5. Position in pass list of Entrance Examination to teacher training college of candidates from religious schools in 1900.

	1- 100	101- 200	201- 300	301- 400	401- 500	501- 600	601- 700	701- 800	801- 900	901- 1000	1001- 1046
Episcopalian	-	1	-	1	-	3	2	4	4	7	2
Roman Catholic	2	1	2	-	3	2	5	4	5	11	3

Source: Educational News 1900, pp. 179-192.

⁹⁰⁸ McCall, Alison T. “*The Beloved Profession*”; *the Post-1872 Promotion of Women in the Public Elementary Schools of Aberdeen*. Unpublished M.Litt dissertation, see in particular Appendix Three.

This does indeed show more Catholics in the top three hundred. Of the three top Catholic candidates in 1899 one, Susan Henry (57th) was from Glasgow and two, Georgina Macfarlane (64th) and Lizzie Joyce (253rd) were from Spean Bridge and Buckie respectively. In 1900, the two top candidates, Margaret Paterson (31st) and Mary Johnson (60th) were both pupil teachers at St Patrick's school, attached to Dowanhill, and may have been boarders. The third, Mary McGeehan (102nd) was from Coatbridge, but was sitting the exam for the second time. The concentration of girls at the lower end of the list remains, mostly, but not exclusively from south west Scotland. Mary Rae, from Aberdeen, came 991st in 1900, but was still accepted by Dowanhill. The numbers are too few to be conclusive, but I would suggest that as late as 1899, there was still a division between the educational outcomes of Scottish and Irish Catholics in Scotland.

Dowanhill Teacher Training College was opened in 1895 and staffed by nuns from Liverpool. The *Glasgow Herald* reported that;

The new college will be on exactly the same footing as the other training institutions throughout the country. The same examiners will have to report upon its work, thus affording every reasonable guarantee as to the quality and efficiency of the instruction imparted within its walls. The situation, retired and beautiful, in near proximity to the University and Queen Margaret College, is admirably adapted to the purposes of a high class ladies school, conducted by ladies.⁹⁰⁹

Cruickshank states that 'since students (at Dowanhill) came from some of the poorest sections of the community, there was no question of their paying their way as did many of the women students in the Presbyterian colleges'⁹¹⁰ but this seems at odds with the *Herald's* remark about 'high class ladies.' Cruickshank continues 'From 1898, selected students attended University classes and by 1900 the college was training postgraduate students.' As this sentence follows immediately after the remark about students coming from 'the poorest sections of the community' it might be assumed that Dowanhill was a

⁹⁰⁹ *Glasgow Herald* 24 August 1894, p. 4, column 8.

⁹¹⁰ Cruickshank, Marjorie, *A History of the Training of Teachers in Scotland*, University of London Press, Ltd, 1970, p. 123.

route into University for such ‘poorer’ students. McDermid echoes this ‘...from 1898, a few students at the Catholic Training College of Notre Dame attended university classes in Glasgow. The latter, as Marjorie Cruickshank has pointed out, came from the poorest sections of the community.’⁹¹¹ This was not the case, however. Lucy Carter (later Sister Bernardine of Jesus), one of the first intake, attended University and ultimately gained a PhD in 1921, the first woman to be awarded a PhD by the University of Glasgow. She was the daughter of a land agent from Huntingdon.⁹¹² Sister Monica Taylor, a member of staff rather than a student, also graduated from Glasgow University, but her background was both English and affluent; her cousin Hugh Taylor (later Prof. Sir Hugh Taylor) had a distinguished academic career, ultimately as Dean of Princeton graduate school.⁹¹³

Although Fitzpatrick gives the impression that Dowanhill was training Scottish women from the outset, when I cross-referenced the names of the initial intake of 22 women⁹¹⁴ with the census, I found that ten were English, and had presumably come north with the Sisters.

Table 7.6 The first 22 women to train at Dowanhill Roman Catholic Teacher Training College 1896.

<i>Name</i>	<i>Birthplace</i>	<i>Comments</i>
Beet, Elizabeth.		Not Scottish.
Cavanagh, Winifred.	Ireland	Teaching in Convent of Notre Dame, Wigan in 1901.
Cameron, Catherine.	Scotland	Sat Entrance exam for TTC 1894
Carter, Lucy.	England	Born 1875. Became Sister Dr. Bernardine of Jesus.

⁹¹¹ McDermid, Jane, *The Schooling of Working-Class Girls in Victorian Scotland; Gender, education and identity*, Routledge, 2005, p. 154.

⁹¹² <http://www.universitystory.gla.ac.uk/biography/?id=WH1308&type=P>, last accessed 11 June 2013.

⁹¹³ Fitzpatrick, T.A. *No Mean Service; Scottish Catholic Teacher Education 1895-1995*, St. Andrew's College, Bearsden, 1995, p. 47.

⁹¹⁴ Fitzpatrick, T.A. *No Mean Service; Scottish Catholic Teacher Education 1895-1995*, St. Andrew's College, Bearsden, 1995, p. 45.

Caulfield, Margaret.	Durham, England	Board School mistress, Durham, in 1901.
Conroy, Kate.	No information	No information
Dougherty, Mary.	No information	No information
Galbraith, Agnes.	Lanarkshire, Scotland	
Hanlon, Kathleen.	England	1874-1958.
Kean, Kathleen.	Scotland	Sat Entrance exam for TTC in 1894.
Mallender, Janet.	England	Living with parents (father a gardener) in Nottinghamshire in both 1881 and 1901. Described as a 'certificated school teacher' in 1901.
Mullen, Anne Jane.	Durham, England	Head teacher in Durham in 1911.
O'Hagan, Annie.	Durham, England	In England in 1901, one of four sisters, all school teachers, living with widowed mother. (Mother born Scotland.)
O'Malley, Ada.	Oldham, England	Born 1874. Convent educated.
Quin(n), Mary Agnes		Became Sister Elisabeth.
Powell, Ellen.		Not Scottish.
Riley, Alice.	No information	No information
Roberts, Helena.	Liverpool,	Teaching in Liverpool in 1911.

	England	
Scrowther, Elizabeth.	England	Living with grandparents in 1891, in Northumberland. Grandfather and brother both agricultural labourers.
Smith, Susanna.	No information	No information
Strain, Rose	Newcastle-upon-Tyne, England	School teacher, living with widowed mother in Newcastle in 1901.
Young, Jane.	No information	No information

Indeed, I was able to identify only three as Scottish. One was Irish, and I was unable to identify the birthplace of the remaining eight. Some, such as Elizabeth Scrowther, of Morpeth, Northumberland, did come from a poor background. In the 1891 census she was living with her grandparents, and both her grandfather and her brother were listed as agricultural labourers.⁹¹⁵ Her background may have been poor, but still had little in common with the majority Glasgow Catholic community. The relatively low number of Scots may explain Fitzpatrick's observation that 'Only three of the first twenty-three remained to teach in Scotland.'⁹¹⁶ I then checked the 1901 census for those boarding at Dowanhill, (it was a residential college with no day-students) and again, found that a significant minority of the students were not local (see Appendix One). Out of 75 students, 39 were born in Scotland, 19 in England, 13 in Ireland, 1 in Gibraltar, and in three instances the birthplace was unreadable.⁹¹⁷

⁹¹⁵ 1891 census, Morpeth, Northumberland. Class: RG12; Piece: 4259; Folio: 115; Page: 50; GSU Roll: 6099369. Ancestry.com, last accessed 11 June 2013

⁹¹⁶ Fitzpatrick, T.A. 'Scottish Catholic Teacher Education: the Wider Context', *Innes Review*, Vol XLV, No. 2, Aut 1994, p. 165.

⁹¹⁷ Of course, a birthplace outwith Scotland does not preclude a girl from having been brought up in Scotland, but in those cases where I was able to check the 1891 census, it would appear that the family were not in Scotland.

Table 7.7 . Birthplace of Students at Dowanhill Teacher Training College 1901.

Birthplace	Number
England	19
Ireland	13
Scotland – Lanark	21
Scotland – Renfrew	6
Scotland – Banffshire/Aberdeenshire	5
Scotland – Inverness-shire	4
Scotland – Forfar (inc Dundee)	1
Scotland – Edinburgh	1
Scotland – Perthshire	1
Gibraltar	1
Illegible	3
Total	75

From Table 7.7 it can be seen that although the largest single group came from industrial Lanark and Renfrew (27 students) they comprised just over a third of the total, with only one further student from the industrial Catholic stronghold of Dundee. Of the other Scottish students some, such as Georgina MacFarlane, of Spean Bridge, had clearly not come from ‘the poorest sections of the community.’ MacFarlane’s father was a shopkeeper, but one uncle became Bishop of Dunkeld whilst she was at Dowanhill,⁹¹⁸ and another was Provost of Fort William.⁹¹⁹ Her family claimed descent from the son of the chief of the Keppoch MacDonells, who died at Culloden, with an ancestry going back to Robert the Bruce. Georgina was the first of a dynasty of teachers; her younger sister, Jane, arrived at Dowanhill as she completed her course, and three first cousins followed within the decade.⁹²⁰ Another student, Teresa Duncan, brought up close to the well-endowed seminary at Blairs, was the daughter of a sawmiller who employed 2 men and

⁹¹⁸ <http://www.catholic-hierarchy.org/bishop/bmacf.html>, last accessed 11 June 2013

⁹¹⁹ Peter MacFarlane, first Roman Catholic to hold the position of Provost in Scotland since the Reformation.

⁹²⁰ Ethel, Winifred and Muriel McFarlane, daughters of Peter McFarlane, Provost of Fort William. Ethel became a Sister of Mercy at age 26. Information from e-mail correspondence with Rob MacFarlane, great-nephew of Georgina and Jane.

five boys in 1881. The family also had one domestic servant. Duncan, and one other student, Kate Kerr, were both boarders at the convent run Elmwood Ladies School in Bothwell in 1891.⁹²¹ Of the students I have been able to trace so far, none came from ‘the poorest sections of the community’ although several were from skilled working class backgrounds.

The variety of students at Dowanhill appears to be much larger than at the Church of Scotland Training School in Aberdeen at the same date. Partially this is because Dowanhill was the only Catholic Training College in Scotland, whereas Aberdeen served a region, but there appears to have been a much larger variety of social backgrounds, too. In Aberdeen, students came overwhelmingly from the skilled working classes and lower middle classes. McDermid suggests that ‘...the opening of Notre Dame teacher-training college ...provided opportunities for a Catholic lass of parts.’⁹²² It will be interesting to discover if, amongst this variety, there were any lasses of parts.

Roman Catholic Schools

The dichotomy between the theory of Catholic education, as propounded by the more affluent Scottish Catholics and the practice, as experienced by immigrant Catholics becomes clear on examination of Catholic elementary schools. Roman Catholic schools came into existence in the nineteenth century. They were eligible for government grants on the same basis as other schools; but the problems of poverty and truancy in some areas made it virtually impossible to meet the requisite standards to qualify for grants. The Argyll Commission concluded that there were 61 Catholic schools in Scotland, teaching 5,736 pupils.⁹²³ Immediately prior to the 1872 Act, the Church of Scotland received government grants for 1,251 schools, the Free Church 527, the Episcopalians 90 and the Roman Catholics 65. Most of the Catholic schools were concentrated in the west of

⁹²¹ 1891 census Bothwell 3 14 04

⁹²² McDermid, Jane, *The Schooling of Working-Class Girls in Victorian Scotland; Gender, education and identity*, Routledge, 2005, p. 64.

⁹²³ Devine, T.M. *The Scottish Nation 1700-2007*, Penguin Books, 2006, p. 392.

Scotland, plus Edinburgh and Dundee.⁹²⁴ The schools which attracted grant aid were well taught, and comparable to other schools, although boys and girls were taught in separate schools, rather than in different departments of the same school. Whereas Kehoe writes mainly about the recusant Scottish Catholics who determined Catholic educational policy, together with incoming religious orders, Anderson examines the actual experience of Roman Catholic education, focussing on the largest group of Catholics in Scotland, the poor immigrant Irish. According to Anderson, the emphasis placed by Catholic schools on basic education and their poorly-resourced schools ‘made it more difficult for individuals to escape from the working class ghetto than if they had enjoyed free access to the general range of schools.’⁹²⁵ This suggests that neither the lad nor the lass o’pairts was likely to emerge from such schools.

Roman Catholic (and Episcopalian) schools chose to be excluded from School Board control after 1872, but continued to be eligible for direct grants. The number of schools so supported grew from 65 to 189 by the end of the century.⁹²⁶ However, even with direct grants, Catholic schools were poorly resourced. McDermid suggests that ‘even the brightest of working class boys could not aspire to become a lad of parts because of the poverty of educational facilities until well into the twentieth century.’⁹²⁷ Moreover, Catholic ratepayers were obliged to contribute to the cost of the School Board school system, although they did not benefit from it. However, as ratepayers they were entitled to vote in School Board elections, and Roman Catholics were well represented on most large boards. One difficulty was the high percentage of untrained teachers within the schools. As already described, prior to 1895 the schools’ source of trained teachers was restricted to those who had had the resources to train in England, and this quite simply failed to provide enough teachers to meet the demand. In 1893, Glasgow School Board employed 208 trained and 8 untrained teachers. Meanwhile Catholic schools in Glasgow employed only 14 trained teachers and 24 untrained,⁹²⁸ with

⁹²⁴ Anderson, R.D. *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918*, Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 78.

⁹²⁵ Anderson, R.D. *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918*, Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 94

⁹²⁶ Anderson, R.D. *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918*, Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 308.

⁹²⁷ McDermid, Jane. *The Schooling of Working-class girls in Victorian Scotland*, Routledge, 2005, p. 58.

⁹²⁸ McDermid, Jane, *The Schooling of Working-Class Girls in Victorian Scotland; Gender, education and identity*, Routledge, 2005, p. 137.

pupil teachers helping to keep the schools functioning. In Scotland as a whole, two thirds of female Catholic teachers were unqualified, whilst within the School Board system the proportion of untrained teachers was low and falling, although, as discussed in previous chapters, there was considerable regional variation.

Although the Catholic schools remained outwith School Board control, some Catholic children were educated within the state system and all ratepayers, regardless of denomination, were obliged to contribute to the state system. Hence, there was Catholic representation on School Boards. Boards varied in size according to the population they served. Each person eligible to vote had several votes, depending on the number of places to be filled. In Aberdeen and Glasgow, for example, each voter had fifteen votes, which they could distribute as they chose. Using all your votes (known as ‘plumping’) for one candidate was permissible. Brown states that ‘This was generally agreed to be a special arrangement for Catholics who might otherwise not have obtained representation on boards.’⁹²⁹ As a result of plumping, Catholic representatives on the School Board often came near the top of the list, and had considerable influence.

Another issue faced by Catholic schools was the illiteracy of many of their pupils’ parents. One measure of basic literacy, which has the advantage of being standardised over the whole of Scotland, but has the disadvantage of being extremely limited, is the ability of brides and grooms to sign the marriage register. There is also a delay; marriage certificates indicate the level of education received fifteen years earlier. In 1869, 90% or more Protestant grooms could sign, with rates varying between 90% for Episcopalians to 96% for United Presbyterians. For brides, 79% or more Protestant brides could sign, ranging again from 79% of Episcopalian brides to 88% of United Presbyterian. Those who married in non-religious ceremonies, such as by declaration before the Sherriff, were comparable to the Protestant figures; 94% of grooms, 82% of brides. In stark contrast, only 54% of Catholic grooms and 38% of Catholic brides could do so.⁹³⁰ These figures aggregate all Catholics, regardless of origin. There seems to be no reason why literacy

⁹²⁹ Brown, Callum G. *Religion and the Development of an Urban Society: Glasgow 1780-1914*, Unpublished PhD thesis, University of Glasgow, 1981.

⁹³⁰ Anderson, R.D. *Education and the Scottish People 1750-1918*, Clarendon Press, 1995, p. 118.

amongst old Scottish Catholics should be lower than that of their Protestant neighbours, and it may be assumed that the overwhelming numbers of Irish born Catholics have effectively hidden pockets of high Catholic literacy in some areas. It also seems likely that these figures reflect the educational standards of Ireland whilst in the grip of the famine, rather than Scottish educational standards, as many of these brides and grooms were born in Ireland. Nevertheless, it indicates another problem faced by the Scottish born offspring of these marriages. Parental illiteracy must have hampered the education of many Catholic children.

In conclusion, many accounts of Catholic education in nineteenth century Scotland focus on the Irish immigrant population; indeed 'Catholic' and 'Irish' appear almost synonymous in Glasgow and the south west of Scotland. Whilst the majority of Catholics in Scotland did come from this community, the role of the old Scottish Catholics is extremely important in any examination of the role of women within Catholic education and the opportunities available to girls and women. This is because it was this community which provided many of the women religious and trained teachers who were influential in Catholic schools. Many of these families had a very strong sense of Scottish identity, bound up in a Jacobite history which had become mythical during the nineteenth century. This Scottish identity does appear to have embraced other 'mythical' aspects of Scottish identity such as the educational ladder of opportunity. However, the influx of women religious from England and Europe may have made Catholic education more cosmopolitan and less distinctively Scottish. There is not space within this essay to examine the ways in which religious discrimination hampered male opportunities, but women were less constrained as many of the career paths closed to male Catholics were closed to all women, regardless of denomination. The opportunities open to Protestant girls were also open to Catholic women. Indeed, as Kehoe points out, Catholic women had additional opportunities through membership of religious communities. Some of these opportunities were hampered by the overall poverty endemic within the Catholic educational system.

Kildonan, Loth and Clyne

The provision and quality of Roman Catholic education varied from area to area. At one extreme, Kildonan, Loth and Clyne was a Protestant area, which, after 1843, was predominantly Free Church of Scotland. There were no Roman Catholics in either the parish of Clyne⁹³¹ or the parish of Kildonan⁹³² in 1840 and probably none in Loth, either. The low rate of in-migration means that the lack of Catholics in 1840 continued throughout the century. Indeed by 1881 there were only 35 Irish born people in the whole of Sutherland, of which at least some were the children of Protestant Highland soldiers who had been stationed in Ireland.⁹³³ Thus, the combination of no indigenous Catholic families and no Catholic inward migration meant that there was no requirement for provision of Catholic education.

Aberdeen

Aberdeen had a relatively small Catholic population. In 1865, for example, there were 65 confirmations, although this number increased later in the century.⁹³⁴ There was only one Catholic church, St Peters, until 1860, when St Mary's (subsequently extended and now St Mary's Cathedral) was built. Aberdeen also had a low rate of Irish immigration, and was the nearest city to the old Scottish Catholic strongholds of rural Aberdeenshire and Banffshire. However, Italian immigrants, though few in numbers, were influential. John Stopani, optician, and Charles Tochetti, picture frame maker, were both in Aberdeen by 1826⁹³⁵ and Anthonio Barrazoni was working with John Stopani by 1839. Their families were influential Catholics in Aberdeen throughout the 19th century. Schools for girls, boys and mixed sex infants were built in Constitution Street at a cost of

⁹³¹ *New Statistical Account for Scotland, Parish of Clyne*, Vol 15, p. 157.

⁹³² *New Statistical Account for Scotland, Parish of Kildonan*, Vol 15, p. 148.

⁹³³ 1881 census, Sutherland.

⁹³⁴ Fraser, W.H. and Lee, C, (eds) *Aberdeen 1800-2000; a New History*, Tuckwell Press, 2000 p. 362.

⁹³⁵ *Aberdeen Directory 1825/26*, Aberdeen, pp. 88 (Stopani) and 92 (Tochetti).

nearly £3000⁹³⁶ and opened on 10 April 1833⁹³⁷. These schools appear to have been relatively small, single teacher schools, taught by lay teachers until the arrival of French Franciscan nuns in the 1860s, who then taught the girls. At that point there were 162 girls and mixed-sex infants on the roll. In 1881 five female teachers were attached to St Mary's Cathedral, of whom four were also nuns; two were from Glasgow, one from the Highlands, one Irish and one German. They presumably taught at St Mary's School, for which an admissions register from 1898, but no log book, survives.⁹³⁸ In 1894 the Society of the Sacred Heart moved into Aberdeen, purchasing a property in the West End the following year to convert into a convent and 'high-class seminary for young ladies'⁹³⁹ Pupil numbers were low. A small Roman Catholic girls school, St Joseph's, was opened in 1896, with two teachers, three pupil teachers and a monitoress;⁹⁴⁰ by 1897 it had 127 pupils.⁹⁴¹ In conclusion, the educational experience of Roman Catholic girls in Aberdeen differed from that of their Protestant counterparts, most notably in that Catholic schools were small in comparison with the 1,000 pupil schools which the School Board was creating. They fostered a sense of community, with frequent visits recorded from various members of the Catholic clergy, and participation in celebrations on St Andrews Day and Christmas. Girls in School Board Schools were generally taught by teachers who came from a similar background, had often grown up in the same area as their pupils and had family living in the area. Girls in Catholic schools were often taught by women from elsewhere; the 1901 census for the Sisters of the Sacred Heart, for example, shows that only two were born in Scotland, as detailed in the Table 7.8:

⁹³⁶ This seems rather expensive, although the schools did include living accommodation for at least one teacher.

⁹³⁷ Gammie, Alexander, *The Churches of Aberdeen; historical and descriptive*, Aberdeen Daily Journal Office, 1909, p. 320.

⁹³⁸ Aberdeen Council Archives St Mary's RC School 1898-1911 ref ED/AT5/21/1/1

⁹³⁹ *Aberdeen Weekly Journal* 17 August 1895, p. 4, col 6.

⁹⁴⁰ Aberdeen City Archives St Josephs Girls' School ref GR6S/A61/1/1 11 Aug 1896.

⁹⁴¹ Aberdeen City Archives St Josephs Girls' School ref GR6S/A61/1/1 7 June 1897.

Table 7.8 Nuns/teachers at Sacred Heart Convent, Aberdeen 1901

Name	Occupation	Birthplace	
Hofler, Pauline	Teacher in Free School	England	Father was German. Died 1957, England.
Woodward, Alice G.	Teacher in Day School	England	
Clutton, Alice M.	Teacher in Day School	England	Born Bromley, Kent. Father was an architect.
De Buerren, Jeanne	Teacher in Middle cl. School ⁹⁴²	Belgium	
Sucas, Franceska	Teacher in Day School	England	
Grierson, Lucy,	Teacher in Middle cl. school	Shetland, Scotland.	
Simpson, Elsie	Teacher in Free School	Banffshire, Scotland.	
O'Connor, Ellen	Teacher in Middle cl. school	England	

One, Sister de Bueren, was Belgian, Sister Hofler was born in England of German parents and the remainder were English. With the possible exception of Mary Cattnach, few girls in Aberdeen appear to have used their education to access a professional career.

Dundee

An estimated 2,000 Catholics lived in Dundee in 1830,⁹⁴³ but this number grew rapidly once Irish immigration reached its peak. Most of Dundee's Catholics came from

⁹⁴² The census return uses the abbreviation "Middle cl. School. Presumably this is "Middle class School" but it is not clear whether this refers to social class, or whether "middle" comes between "junior" and "senior." In the absence of reference to juniors and seniors, it may be presumed that it means that this was explicitly a school for middle-class girls.

poor Irish families, attracted by work in the jute mills. Walker suggests that Dundee, unlike Glasgow, attracted only Catholic Irish,⁹⁴⁴ which means that an Irish surname may be assumed to indicate that the person was Catholic. There was tension between the Scottish –born priests and their largely Irish-born new flocks, but nevertheless, the first three Catholic schools in Dundee were in existence by the early 1860s, and this number doubled in the next decade.⁹⁴⁵ These schools were poorly funded, but strong community pressure prevented Catholic children from being educated in non-Catholic schools. The Sisters of Mercy improved standards when they arrived in Dundee, but there were too few to make an impact overall. However, unlike the majority of the priests in Dundee who were Scottish born, the Sisters of Mercy in Dundee had an all-Irish membership until 1870. The first Scottish-born, but of Irish descent sister joined in 1888, but the first indigenous Scot didn't enter until 1901.⁹⁴⁶ Education for Catholics in Dundee was poor throughout the latter nineteenth century because of the inextricable link between Irish Catholicism and poverty. Catholic children were more likely to be forced by family circumstances to become half-timers at the mills, and the Catholic representation on the School Board encouraged the half-time system. Nevertheless, girls from Dundee's Catholic schools regularly sat the entrance exam to teacher training college, although their results were often poor: Bridget Callan, from St Patrick's Roman Catholic School came 797th out of 821 candidates in 1894; her mother was an Irish born factory worker, there was no father listed in the 1881 census.⁹⁴⁷ Catherine Noonan, also of St Patrick's School came 1042nd out of 1046 in 1900. Despite the poor results, some of these girls may have been able to access careers. Callan was described as a school teacher in 1901. Bridget Hobin was born in Dundee in 1878. Her father was a grocer; both parents were Irish⁹⁴⁸ and had lived initially in Glasgow, where three of their children were born. They then moved to Lochee, Dundee. Hobin attended St Mary's Roman Catholic School. In

⁹⁴³ Walker, W.M. *Juteopolis; Dundee and its textile workers 1885-1923*, Edinburgh, Scottish Academic Press Ltd, 1979, p. 114.

⁹⁴⁴ Walker, W.M. *Juteopolis; Dundee and its textile workers 1885-1923*, Edinburgh, Scottish Academic Press Ltd, 1979, p. 121.

⁹⁴⁵ Walker, W.M. *Juteopolis; Dundee and its textile workers 1885-1923*, Edinburgh, Scottish Academic Press Ltd, 1979, p. 128.

⁹⁴⁶ Kehoe, Karly, *Creating a Scottish Church; Catholicism, gender and ethnicity in nineteenth century Scotland* M.U.P., 2010, p. 104.

⁹⁴⁷ 1881 census 282-5 6 23.

⁹⁴⁸ 1881 census 282-5 5A 23.

1891 she was a thirteen year old school monitoress, whilst her elder brother and sister, aged 17 and 15, were both pupil teachers.⁹⁴⁹ Her family (both parents and seven children) were living in a four roomed flat, and so were not living extreme poverty.⁹⁵⁰ Hobin went on to become a pupil teacher herself and sat the entrance examination for teaching training college in 1897, when she came 841st.⁹⁵¹ She sat again in 1899, coming in 412th.⁹⁵² By 1901 Hobin was a student at Dowanhill Teacher Training College, the only student to come from Dundee. She spent a lifetime teaching in Dundee, and died there in 1949.⁹⁵³ Hobin clearly had to be tenacious and to continue to try to access training after scoring poorly in the 1897 exam, but she did succeed. Aspinwall lists Bertha Farrelly and Cecilia Maher⁹⁵⁴ as Dundee students at Mount Pleasant⁹⁵⁵ but Farrelly was born in Lochaber and Maher in Ireland; it is not clear what their Dundee connection were. By 1901 Maher was teaching in England and by 1911, Farrelly was the Head teacher of an Elementary School in England.⁹⁵⁶ It is possible that further research would uncover success stories from Dundee, but generally, Roman Catholic girls from Dundee were disadvantaged by poverty and poor quality education.

Govan

Govan also had a large immigrant Irish population, although unlike Dundee, the Irish in Govan were not necessarily Roman Catholic. Govan had several Catholic schools, including St Anthony's School and St Peter's School. One St Peter's pupil, Mary Johnston, came 60th in the 1900 training college entrance exam; the highest placed Catholic student that year. In 1891, Rose Hardie from Govan was a Pupil teacher at Mount Pleasant, Liverpool. She had been born in Glasgow, but brought up in Govan. Her father, John Francis, was a Scottish born cabinet maker/upholsterer.⁹⁵⁷ In 1901, two

⁹⁴⁹ Her elder brother Thomas was a member was a pupil teacher and by 1901 he was an engine cleaner.

⁹⁵⁰ 1891 census ref 282 /05 003 054

⁹⁵¹ *Educational News* 1897, 3 April 1897, p. 242.

⁹⁵² *Educational News* 1899, 8 April 1899, p. 241.

⁹⁵³ Death certificate 1949 ref 282 / 01 0149.

⁹⁵⁴ Mary Cecilia Maher, died 1907.

⁹⁵⁵ Aspinwall, B. 'Catholic Teachers for Scotland: the Liverpool Connection', *Innes Review*, Vol XLV, No. 1, Spring 1994.

⁹⁵⁶ Ancestry.com. 1911 England Census Class: RG14; Piece: 29041, last accessed 8 June 2013.

⁹⁵⁷ 1881 census Glasgow Gorbals; ED: 3; Page: 8; Line: 4; Roll: cscsct1881_246.

students at Dowanhill had Govan connections. The first was Louisa Logan, who has, so far, proved untraceable. The second was Cecilia McLauchlan, described as being aged 20 and born in Govan. McLauchlan's connection to Govan, though, was superficial. Her father was a commercial traveller in timber; her elder siblings were born in Falkirk and Cathcart; Cecilia was born in Govan, but the family were living in Greenock ten months later, in a four roomed flat. Her mother, a McHardy, was from Glenlivet in Banffshire, a stronghold of 'old' Catholicism. Her father was from Polmont, Stirling.⁹⁵⁸ Cecilia McLauchlan, therefore, cannot be described as 'from' Govan. There appear to have been a paucity of successful Roman Catholic girls from Govan.

Edinburgh

Edinburgh was in many respects at the forefront of Catholic girls' education in Scotland. Edinburgh was the first part of Scotland to benefit from schools run by teaching orders of nuns, in 1834 and in 1849 two schools became the first Catholic schools in Scotland to come under government inspection, with a further two following by 1851 (plus a fifth in Leith.) St Catherine's Girls' School was attached to the church of St Marys, Broughton Street (later to become St Mary's Cathedral.) The School Inspector criticised its physical restrictions, but praised the teaching. Tailor's daughter Catherine McGarvie, already mentioned above as the first Scottish girl to train at Mount Pleasant, was a pupil and pupil teacher there. Another pupil, Isabel Hoey also attended Mount Pleasant, before returning to teach in Scotland. However she ceased teaching when she married, aged 29, in 1869. Edinburgh had a mixture of old Scottish and Irish immigrant Catholics. Families such as the MacPhersons had moved to Edinburgh from the Highlands in the eighteenth century. Three MacPherson sisters, the daughters of Gavin MacPherson, a plasterer, all became pupil teachers and then teachers. Agnes attended Mount Pleasant, but Theresa and Cecilia trained elsewhere. All three became nuns and had long careers teaching within their Orders.⁹⁵⁹ Isabel Hoey, mentioned above, was the daughter of Irish immigrants hawkers, who were in Edinburgh in 1826, well before the

⁹⁵⁸ 1881 census Greenock West 22 11 03.

⁹⁵⁹ Stewart, Ian, 'Teacher Careers of the Early Catholic Schools of Edinburgh', *Innes Review*, Vol XLVI, No.1. 1995, p. 57.

famine.⁹⁶⁰ Annabel McCaul, baptised in Edinburgh in 1839, was also the daughter of pre-famine Irish immigrants. Her elder brother was already a surgeon in Liverpool when she travelled to Mount Pleasant to train. However her early death from tuberculosis meant that she did not become a teacher.⁹⁶¹ It has already been noted that Edinburgh had a large middle class, and this was as true of its Catholics as the population as a whole.

Conclusion

The education and prospects of a Catholic girl in late Victorian Scotland depended strongly on whether she was a member of one of the minority old Scottish Catholic families, or a member of one of the immigrant Irish Catholic families. As the two groups were largely geographically separate, there was little intermarriage. Statistics about the low rate of Catholic literacy were hugely influenced by the large numbers of illiterate Irish born Catholics and nothing can be inferred from them about the literacy of e.g. a Catholic family from the rural north east. One of the advantages of this thesis is that it will examine different areas, which will make it possible to study the life story of individuals from both backgrounds. The existence of a large influx of immigrant Catholics created opportunities for educated Catholic girls to train as teachers for the large number of new schools. However, the sheer numbers which needed to be provided for meant that resources were stretched thinly and salaries were low. There is also the issue of 'vocation', an expression used often in relation to female-dominated caring professions, justifying low salaries, but used literally in the case of Catholic women entering Holy Orders. As has been described, the prospects of a girl from a working class Irish immigrant family in Dundee were quite different to that of a girl from a Scottish middle class family from Aberdeen or Edinburgh. One of the few similarities was that Roman Catholic girls were likely to be taught by nuns from a variety of origins in England, Ireland or Europe. In this sense, their education was less distinctively 'Scottish' than that of girls in School Board schools, who were likely to be taught by teachers who

⁹⁶⁰ Stewart, Ian, 'Teacher Careers of the Early Catholic Schools of Edinburgh', *Innes Review*, Vol XLVI, No.1. 1995, p. 53.

⁹⁶¹ Stewart, Ian, 'Teacher Careers of the Early Catholic Schools of Edinburgh', *Innes Review*, Vol XLVI, No.1. 1995, p. 55.

were not only Scottish, but had often been brought up close to the school in which they taught. Roman Catholic education was, therefore, less insular, but the question posed in this thesis as to whether there was a 'lass o' pairts' remains pertinent. 'Old Scottish' Catholics promulgated the ethos of the democratic intellect. I would argue that they attempted to spread this ethos throughout the immigrant Irish Catholic population, by funding schools and providing teachers.

Conclusion

This thesis set out to ask the question ‘Was there a lass o’ pairs’? We are now in a better position to describe the ways in which women were able to hybridise the ‘lad o’ pairs’ route in mid to late Victorian Scotland and to describe the ways in which socially upwardly mobile women with careers diverged from the model of the ‘lad.’

To answer this question this thesis has examined the opportunities for education and careers for girls and women in five disparate areas of Scotland, during the period 1850 to 1901, to discover whether the Scottish education system enabled girls to progress, whether, having gained an education, there were careers to enable them to use that education and finally whether those careers enabled them to be upwardly socially mobile. It seems logical to argue that only if all three were in place could a girl be the female equivalent of the ‘lad o’ pairs.’ The five areas examined were chosen, as described in Chapter One, to cover as wide a variety as possible of circumstances, geographically, economically and socially. Given the disparity of conditions in nineteenth century Scotland, five areas were not enough to cover every situation. In the future I would like to select another area, such as an island, or a rural lowland parish, and examine the opportunities available through education for girls there, utilising the methodology of this thesis, to further unpick the ways in which Scottish women experienced education. However, given the constraints of length inherent in a thesis, I believe that the five areas chosen provide a reasonable cross-section of Scottish life.

Chapter One sought to describe the environment in which working-class and lower middle class girls lived in each of the five areas. This demonstrated the complexity of local conditions with many different factors interacting to create distinctive local conditions. Girls and women in East Sutherland were disadvantaged by factors which impacted on both sexes, such as geographical isolation, poor transport links and lack of infrastructure, and further disadvantaged by factors which impacted particularly on them, such as the male-dominated nature of most local occupations. Girls and women in Aberdeen and Edinburgh benefited from the range of industries and employment opportunities. Meanwhile, women in Govan experienced the advantages and disadvantages of a boom-and-bust economy; new businesses and industries were more

likely to employ women in white-blouse occupations, but job security was poor. Although women flocked to Dundee because of the vast number of jobs in the jute industry, the jobs were physically demanding and usually poorly paid. Women in Dundee had a unique identity as wage earners which gave them an independence rarely found elsewhere, but educational opportunities were limited, and health and housing were poor. The availability of paid employment in the jute mills for young girls was a disincentive to continue in education. One of the conclusions of this thesis, although not one of the original objectives, is that there was a huge variation between the educational experience of different areas of nineteenth-century Scotland. Whilst some of these could have been predicted, the scale of the variation has been surprising. This suggests that studies which focus on, for example, the central belt and extrapolate to 'Scotland' may be missing much of the story. Even national legislation had considerable variation in date of de facto implementation. Regardless of the 'compulsory clause' in the Education (Scotland) Act 1872, education could not become truly compulsory until a School Board could provide sufficient school places for every child. An understanding of local conditions is necessary to explore the situation of women within late nineteenth century Scottish education.

Basic education was generally available both before and after the Education (Scotland) Act 1872. However, this varied considerably from area to area. Edinburgh, with the Heriot schools, and Aberdeen with a range of council and charity schools, were the best provided for education for working and lower middle class girls prior to 1872. Geographic distance in east Sutherland and the demand for child labour in Dundee effectively prevented many children from accessing basic education. In Dundee the demand for child mill workers was predominantly for girls, reducing their educational opportunities disproportionately. The rapid growth of Govan meant that most families had moved from a different part of the country, which may have disrupted education. The 1872 Act, although applicable equally to all parts of Scotland, did not create equality of opportunity, as the School Boards inherited different levels of assets and different problems. 'Compulsory' education post 1872 varied considerably, which Boards putting different emphasis on the age and, in Dundee, the gender of those it pursued, and the point at which a child's absence from school became problematic. It would be interesting

to explore truancy, as a marker of local attitudes towards education, further, in a wider ranging study, which might also reveal further assumptions underlying the education of girls. It should be possible to do a more in depth study of the date on which all parts of Scotland started to *de facto* enforce the compulsory clause.

After 1872, political difficulties peculiar to east Sutherland blighted the education of a generation of children, and continuing lack of school provision did likewise in Dundee. However, for those for whom the 1872 Act had successfully created compulsory school places, in Edinburgh, Aberdeen, Govan, and then Dundee and East Sutherland, the legislation treated education as equally important for both sexes. In Dundee, however, the need for girls to supplement family income by working in the jute mills, as half-timers, continued to bring their education to a premature end. Girls in all areas had a less academic education than boys, owing to the emphasis placed on domestic skills within the curriculum. This emphasis increased as the century progressed, amidst concerns about the health of the nation. Boys were taught woodwork, but there was less emphasis and time devoted to this. Nevertheless, throughout the pre-and-post 1872 period, it was possible for girls from the working and lower middle classes to obtain sufficient elementary education to progress to post-elementary education. The next accessible rung for working and lower-middle class girls was to become a pupil teacher, which enabled girls to remain in the education system until they were eighteen. This thesis has demonstrated that there was huge popular support for the pupil teacher system amongst girls. As girls could not choose to become pupil teachers without family support, it follows that there was considerable support amongst families for their daughters to extend their education through the pupil teacher system. The social background of such girls was, however, narrow. There are examples of girls from unskilled and very poor backgrounds accessing pupil teacherships, but these were unusual. Although pupil teachers were paid, for a very poor family it made more financial sense for a girl to leave school at the earliest opportunity and work in a mill, factory, or go into service. Instead, girls came from the respectable skilled working classes; girls whose fathers were skilled tradesmen or small shopkeepers. Most 'lads o' pairts' originated from the same social group, and so in this respect the 'lad' and the 'lass' are the same. Curiously, many girls were raised by widowed mothers; possibly the example of a mother who had struggled

financially during widowhood encouraged girls to gain a marketable skill, or possibly their mothers encouraged them. Possibly marriage was seen as less of a lifetime solution by girls who had been raised by single-parent mothers. This is speculation, but the impact of being raised by a widow in mid to late Victorian Scotland is one that I would be interested in pursuing further. The pupil teacher system enabled tens of thousands of Scottish girls to access a post-elementary education. The pupil-teacher system, rather than the 1872 Act was responsible for opening up careers in teaching for women, but the massive increase in provision of education post 1872, and the need for a large workforce of trained teachers further boosted the opportunities available through pupil teacherships.

These opportunities increased as the century progressed, firstly because of the overall expansion of the teaching profession and secondly because of the increasing proportion of women within that profession. This created a 'virtuous circle' of opportunity. As more certificated female teachers entered the classrooms, the difficulty faced by girls who could not train under a male teacher without a woman to act as chaperone decreased. Whilst rural areas which had small schools with predominantly male teachers, such as those in Helmsdale and Brora, continued to offer posts primarily to boys, girls in urban areas such as Aberdeen, Dundee, Govan and Edinburgh benefitted from large schools employing certificated female teachers, which provided pupil teacher posts for many girls in each school. The quality of training offered varied from area to area, with Edinburgh investing heavily in its pupil teachers in terms of salaries and financial incentives. Aberdeen had a well organised system of training. However, in Dundee, the variety of ages of pupil teachers suggests a more haphazard approach to training. Lastly, Govan School Board was creating a system of education *ab initio* in new schools as the population increased; this created posts for girls and a thought out system which did not have to accommodate earlier educational idiosyncrasies. Indeed, Govan was at the forefront of providing extra classes and, ultimately, a separate pupil teacher institute.

The large, and increasing, numbers of female pupil teachers and other girls and young women who sat the common entrance examination for teacher training college is ample evidence of the demand for a professional career amongst young women. Teacher

training involved one, and, from 1858, two years at college. For many this meant two years living away from home in a boarding house attached to the college. Although bursaries were paid, money was inevitably tight. Girls came from a variety of backgrounds, but predominantly from the aspirant skilled working classes. Within that group, examination of individual women shows that there were clusters of pupil teachers within families. Many of the girls who achieved top marks in the entrance exam were following an elder sister, or sisters, into teaching. An elder sister could act as mentor to a younger sister. A mentor – the dominie – is an intrinsic part of the mythology of the ‘lad o’ pairts’ story. There is no reason why a dominie could not encourage a ‘lass’ too, and there is no doubt many did. But a female mentor could act as a more effective role model. Clearly, girls who had a mentor in the shape of an older sister benefitted. The point to be made in relation to girls in mid-late Victorian Scotland is perhaps not to recognise the benefits of an older, experienced guide, but to recognise the difficulty faced by girls who lacked any form of mentor. One of the drivers of the pre-eminence of Aberdeen in the pass-lists of the Entrance examination is the fact that Aberdeen had a number of qualified teachers in the 1860s, giving their pupils an example of a woman who had attended college, and that examination success became normalised. Conversely, girls in Sutherland, already identified as having experienced the difficulties common to both sexes of poverty and geographical isolation, also lacked mentors. Boys had not only male teachers, but also ministers, and local political leaders, who were invariably men, and who operated within a male-only hierarchy. In Dundee, girls had role models and mentors within the jute industry, but these role models were often inimical to teaching. The relatively low number of college trained teachers in Dundee may help explain the low success rate amongst its entrance examination candidates. Govan, whose newly built schools were staffed with newly appointed qualified teachers also provided ready mentors to its female pupils. In Govan, like Aberdeen, successful female teachers had become normalised, and this is reflected in the high success rates amongst Govan girls. Edinburgh had trained teachers, and girls need not have lacked mentors, but possibly the variety of white blouse occupations available to women in Edinburgh meant that training college was not the only successful conclusion to several years spent as a pupil teacher. For many girls sitting the entrance examination, success meant leaving home to attend

college for two years. This is not something that anyone would do lightly. I would argue that the fierce competition to gain a place indicates a strong desire for mid and late Victorian women for professional training and status, and a means to upward social mobility through their own efforts.

Once trained, employment was readily available, although some were in unpopular localities. Women in small rural single teacher schools, such as those in east Sutherland, were likely to receive lower pay, but to have accommodation provided. Salaries varied according to area, with salaries in Dundee generally low, but better in Govan and Aberdeen and much higher in Edinburgh. Teaching conferred not only good salaries but, in the absence of other forms of tertiary education, could be used as an entry point into other occupations. Moreover, the burgeoning Empire created opportunities worldwide for teachers. Scotswomen could be found from Australia to Canada, from India to Africa, teaching in mission schools, running orphanages and forging educational provision. Teaching also provided one of the rare possibilities for widows and women living apart from their husbands to maintain their families and prevent a descent into poverty. Indeed, given the high number of teachers who were themselves raised by a widowed mother, much of the impetus towards obtaining a career might be underpinned by the desire to safeguard against downward social mobility as much as an aspiration for upward social mobility. It seems fair to conclude that whilst teaching posts held out the possibility of promotion and increased social status, they could also enable a non-promoted teacher to enjoy social status and earn a good income.

A variety of promoted posts were open to women, although by far the most common was that of Infant Mistress, a post held exclusively by women. Every large school had an Infant Mistress. There was considerable regional variation in the posts which women held, with Dundee having a structure unique amongst the five areas, whereby the Infant Mistress was not subordinate to the head teacher, but answerable only to the School Board. Govan was notable for the young age at which it promoted women, although the salaries paid to promoted female teachers were comparatively low; it is possible that there was a correlation. Edinburgh was a by-word for high salaries, with Edinburgh School Board striving to attract the best qualified teachers in Scotland.

However it was in Aberdeen that women were most likely to follow the ‘lass o’ pairts’ route from working class (albeit skilled working class) to a professional career. Examples of the lass o’ pairts can be found in many parts of Scotland (although not in east Sutherland and very likely not in similar rural areas), but Aberdeen was exceptional amongst the case studies, and seems unlikely to have been surpassed by any area not covered in this study. Undoubtedly Mrs Isabella Skea, who has been referred to repeatedly throughout this thesis, was the epitome of the Victorian lass o’ pairts. She was a tenant farmer’s daughter who travelled to Edinburgh to attend college, became head teacher of St Paul Street School and was the fifth woman to become a F.E.I.S. and the first to sit on the General Council of the E.I.S. She earned over £200 per annum for most of her long working life, ultimately living in Aberdeen’s West End with three domestic servants. She was, though, one of several, with Jessie Gordon Shaw in Dundee and Harriet Beck in Edinburgh amongst others also enjoying careers which conferred status and high wages. Though exceptional, the sheer numbers of women in each category of educational advancement in Aberdeen indicates the position of that city in women’s career opportunities.

A career in teaching was seen by contemporaries as a means of upward mobility; it is unsurprising that the numbers of women attempting to access a teaching career through pupil teacherships and Training College were so high. Moreover, the existence of Infant Mistresses in every large and many medium sized school ensured that most Victorian children would have had experience of a woman in a professional, promoted post. These women provided a role model for generations of schoolgirls, who would have had daily experience in their formative years of a Victorian woman who fell outwith the ‘separate sphere’ of home and family. It seems plausible to argue, though difficult to conclusively prove that female teachers in promoted posts had an influence over Victorian society greater than might be suggested by the small proportion of female teachers who achieved a promoted post.

In the Introduction, I posited that if the ‘lass o’ pairts’ was merely hidden, it should be possible to recover her story and incorporate it into the historical mainstream. I quoted Breitenbach and Gordon assertion that women were neither absent nor

anonymous, but historians have been blind.⁹⁶² Dozens, if not hundreds, of the individual women named in this thesis, were not anonymous in their own day. Each was a significant figure in her community, and participated in public life both through her profession and through involvement in professional organisations such as the E.I.S. Mrs Skea, in particular, was regularly quoted in the local and sometimes the national press as she campaigned for better conditions for female teachers. And yet, she is all but invisible in current history books.⁹⁶³ This invisibility has enabled commentators such as Devine and McCrone to state misleadingly, that the ‘lad o’ pairts’ route to academic and material success did not exist for women; this thesis has shown that it did exist, albeit the numbers were small. Moore’s point that women were invisibly subsumed within the myth appears to be correct.

Having concluded that girls and women did indeed access and use education as a means of career progression and upward social mobility, albeit in far fewer numbers than their male counterparts, it is important to examine the ways in which the successful woman diverged from the narrative of the ‘lad’.

Firstly, one aspect of the myth which women did not conform to is that women who were socially upwardly mobile did not appear to have regarded humble origins as a virtue in the way that many of the ‘lads’ did. As discussed in the Introduction, Helen Spence, later Lady Leslie MacKenzie, was born into a poor family, but her impoverished origins were hidden by her father’s subsequent upward social mobility. Isabella Spence, later Lady Carlaw Martin, likewise does not appear to have been regarded by her contemporaries as having a working-class background. Elizabeth Mustard, later Mrs Barnett, included vignettes of her childhood in several of her writings, all of which appear to have been fictitious and designed to suggest her background was middle rather than working class. Harriet Beck’s poor origins were mentioned, but not the fact that she rose beyond them; her sister’s biography suggests that Harriet Beck spent her entire life scraping together money to support the African church mission. It would appear that the

⁹⁶² Breitenbach, E. and Gordon E, (eds) *Out of Bounds; Women in Scottish Society 1800-1945*, EUP, 1992, pp. 2-3.

⁹⁶³ The only two secondary sources I have found are: Moore, Lindy, *Bajanellas and Semilinas; Aberdeen University and the Education of Women 1860- 1920*, AUP 1991, p. 22 and p. 145; Northcroft, D. *Scots at School*, E.U.P. 2003, p.121 and pp. 129-131. Neither make any reference to her career.

woman who had risen from skilled working class to middle class was in no hurry to boast of her poor background. In this, the narrative of the self-made Victorian woman diverged sharply from that of the self-made Victorian man, who might well utilise his poor origins to emphasise the degree of his success. This gendered difference may well deserve closer attention not merely in relation to educational advancement but on a wider area of Victorian discourse.

Secondly, the pupil teacher system was a means of social mobility amongst men, but possibly seen not only as a means of upward mobility for women but also as a badge of respectability. Just as pupil teacherships formed a rung on the ladder of opportunity for the lad o' pairts, this thesis has shown that this rung also existed for the lass o' pairts. There were, however, significant differences. Unlike the rural 'lad', encouraged by a university-educated male dominie, the lass o' pairts was more likely to be found in a newer school in an urban area, trained by the first or second generation of training-college educated female teachers. Both before and after the formation of state education in 1872, most rural parishes had only one school with only one teacher who was almost always male, thereby making it virtually impossible for pupil teachers to be female in most cases. This suggests that the lass o' pairts was unlikely to ever have been a common feature of Scottish rural society. Whilst Isabella Skea was a farmer's daughter in a rural parish, the dominie's sister was a trained teacher, thus providing a female role model, and Skea had to move into Aberdeen to work as a pupil teacher. Therefore, it seems reasonable to suggest that the lass o' pairts was something urban and predominantly new to the second half of the nineteenth century. Whilst only one of the five areas was rural, the other urban areas drew in women from rural districts and small towns.

Thirdly, whilst marriage rarely made a difference to the career of the 'lad', most women gave up work on marriage, not least because marriage was usually followed by children. Whilst the numbers of working class and lower middle class girls proceeding to teacher training college was similar to that of the number of boys from the same classes attending University, and thus the initial pool of potential lads and lasses was comparable, many women dropped out of the teaching profession in their twenties or

thirties in order to marry, thus severely depleting the number who ultimately gained upward social mobility through their own career. Marriage eroded the number of women working. Marriage also created a further difficulty, in that married women changed their surname, creating a fractured identity. They often became invisible, subsumed within their husband's identity. It can be difficult to relate Helen Spence, Infant Mistress, to Lady Leslie MacKenzie. Similarly, whilst fathers pass on their surnames to sons, the same is not true of mothers to daughters; a maternal legacy is more obscure. Elizabeth Mustard, prize winning college student and successful teacher, is 'invisible' as the mother of Elizabeth Barnett, one of the first two women in Scotland to graduate with a law degree, and the first female Advocate in Aberdeen. Records which list female teachers as 'Miss X' or 'Mrs Y' whilst using male teachers first names creates a further difficulty for the researcher; in the absence of a first name it becomes difficult if not impossible to identify female teachers with common surnames.

In the Introduction, the mythical nature of the lad was explored. Recent scholarship has posited that the lad was a myth in the sense that a myth is a story told by a community to encapsulate something it believes about itself; in this sense the concept that class and financial position are no barrier to success in Scotland, relates to the supposed egalitarian nature of the education system. Using this definition it would appear that there was no mythical 'lass o pairts' in the nineteenth century. Individual women, such as Isabella Skea may have identified themselves with it (and indeed Skea's obituary⁹⁶⁴ followed the classic lad narrative) but the story told by the community about its successful women was different. Many successful women fitted into a religious narrative. One example of this was Harriet Beck, whose life story was cast as that of selfless helpmeet of her twin sister Janet, a missionary. Margaret Gray, too, saw teaching as a vocation which would equip her to help her husband, Robert Laws, in the mission field. Many teachers married ministers, and were thus upwardly socially mobile, but the position of minister's wife was one which precluded self-aggrandisement. Women such as Helen Spence (Lady Leslie MacKenzie) or Christian Farquharson's story was told in

⁹⁶⁴ *Aberdeen Daily Journal* 8 October 1914. Her obituary includes sentences straight from the classic "lad" narrative, such as 'She received her early education at Whitestripes School where the master, with that perception which was the characteristic of the old parochial system, noticed the promise of his young pupil and advised her to take up education as her future career.'

terms of their being their husband's help-meet as opposed to equal partner. Successful women, such as Isabella Skea, found themselves defined as less female. Thomas Hector, clerk to Aberdeen School Board, claimed at her retirement presentation that:

Mrs Skea had all along been fired with the desire to give proof to all concerned that ... there was nothing within the range of elementary school work which she, a woman, could not accomplish equally well with the best man among them. One might be tempted to think that in straining after such an ideal, Mrs Skea might just be a little disposed now and again to forget that after all she was not a man...⁹⁶⁵

This does not cast women within the 'lad o' pairts' narrative, but within some alternative narrative, in which women as not regarded as successful women per se; they were unsexed by their success and became 'honorary men.'

It appears that women who followed the 'lad' route may have created an entirely different myth. One example is that of Christina Kay.⁹⁶⁶ Kay was born in 1878. Her father, Alexander, was a clerk in a cabinetmaking firm. Prior to her marriage her mother had been an upholsterer's sewer. Her family lived in a flat in Grindley Street, Edinburgh. Her father died when she was fifteen. She was a pupil at James Gillespie's School in Edinburgh, and then a pupil teacher at the same school. In 1896, she passed the entrance examination for teacher training college, coming 4th in Edinburgh and 59th out of 1005 in Scotland.⁹⁶⁷ She attended the Church of Scotland Teacher Training College in Edinburgh. She came 22nd out of 45 in her year and an asterisk beside her name in the class lists indicates that she took some University classes, although she did not go on to take a degree.⁹⁶⁸ She then returned to her old school as an assistant teacher, a post she was to retain until she retired. She never gained a promoted post. In many ways, Kay may be seen as archetypical of the pupil teachers and trained classroom teachers of this thesis. Urban, from a skilled working class background, Kay is interchangeable with

⁹⁶⁵ *Aberdeen Journal*, 24 December 1908.

⁹⁶⁶ Pipes, R., Ewan, E., Innes, S., and Reynolds, S. (eds) *Biographical Dictionary of Scottish Women*, EUP, 2006, p. 188.

⁹⁶⁷ *Educational News*, 3 April 1896, p. 233.

⁹⁶⁸ *Educational News*, 7 Oct 1899, p. 695.

possibly the majority of women in this study. However, Kay's significance is that she was used by the novelist Muriel Spark as the model for Miss Jean Brodie, the archetypal Edinburgh spinster schoolmistress,⁹⁶⁹ and one of the great figures of Scottish literature. Indeed, at one remove she was also the inspiration for Professor Minerva McGonagall, in J.K. Rowling's 'Harry Potter' series.⁹⁷⁰ Prof. McGonagall, with her clipped Scottish accent, fondness for tartan, austere but kindly, firm but fair, maintaining an apparently effortless discipline in class, may be regarded as the stereotypical Scottish school teacher, and is recognised as such worldwide. There is no equivalent name, such as the 'lad o' pairts' for this universally recognised Scottish female teacher, and yet the elements of a powerful myth are all there; the hard-working, dedicated, intelligent Scottish female teacher.

The reason this study concludes that Scotland has no myth of the 'lass o' pairts' is not because working and lower middle class women could not or did not gain an education which enabled them to access a career which conferred financial independence and upward social mobility. This thesis has uncovered many such women. Rather, the lack of a 'lass o' pairts' myth reflects the fact that there was a different myth which pertained to Scottish women. Victorian women were often regarded as 'The Angel of the Hearth'. Clearly women who worked full time could not be described thus. Instead, successful career women were the 'Angel of the Public Sphere' even if such a term was not coined. Their myth was also one of hard work and capability, but incorporated selflessness and moral duty. Although holding responsible jobs, teaching children meant that these jobs could be cast in a maternal light. Whilst a girl was young enough to be a 'child' she could fit into the 'lad' narrative. At the point of the entrance examination to training college, successful women were still seen as part of the 'lad o' pairts' myth. Whilst too young to be regarded as having eschewed marriage, academic success was regarded by their communities as highly credible. It is after leaving the Training College that the myth of male and female diverge, the point at which women were supposed to become selfless wives and mothers. Selflessness became the key word; if not devoted to

⁹⁶⁹ Spark, Muriel, *The Prime of Miss Jean Brodie*, Penguin Modern Classics, 2000.

⁹⁷⁰ Rowling, J.K. *Harry Potter and the Philosopher's Stone*, Bloomsbury, 1997, and the six subsequent books in the series.

husband and children, then a Victorian Scotswoman was expected to be devoted to something- church or elderly parents or, in the case of women with a teaching career, the children they taught. This was especially the case for those who went abroad. Their lives were not interpreted as that of ambitious adventurous women, but of selfless women dedicating themselves to a higher cause. The Scottish diaspora has been cast primarily in terms of active men, sometimes accompanied by wives and daughters. Teachers, however, took a full part as missionaries, headmistresses, translators and orphanage matrons, and yet subsumed in the narrative that the Scottish diaspora was primarily driven by men.

It would appear that whereas a man entering the teaching profession had a 'career' a woman following the same career path had a 'vocation.' The Training Colleges were all run by the churches and so, unlike men studying for most of the professions, a religious input was impossible to avoid. Moreover, many of the most upwardly mobile had started their careers in church run schools, prior to 1872. This enabled a religious gloss to be placed on the careers of most Scottish female teachers. As marriage was seen as women's destiny and chief purpose, women with careers had to have, or be provided with, an alternative narrative. Personal ambition was not acceptable for a woman. Devotion to working with children, religious convictions and playing the role of dutiful daughter were all acceptable. It is interesting that many of the spinster school teachers of the twentieth century were assumed to have had a fiancé die in the First World War.

The lack of a myth of the 'lass o' pairts' has served twentieth century women ill. Women such as Isabella Skea, by becoming invisible, meant that women lacked the role models already described in this thesis as important. Although individual women were clearly inspired by a previous generation of individual women within their own families, there was no wider community sense of female achievement. Indeed, the very concept that married women could combine teaching and family disappeared. A woman such as Mrs Annie Singer, who combined teaching with eight pregnancies and births, is completely unheard of in secondary sources.

In conclusion, women in mid to late Victorian Scotland could access education and use it to forge a career, gain membership of a professional body such as the E.I.S, and experience upward social mobility but they were not the ‘lass o’ pairts’ because, whilst a man following a similar route would be seen within the narrative of the myth of the lad, the narrative within with women’s lives were told was different. This ‘different’ narrative, whilst sharing the concepts of hard work and determination, and sharing the element of ‘Scottishness’ has cloaked concepts such as personal ambition and upward mobility. The de facto ‘lass o’ pairts’ existed, but hers was a different myth in which individual women were subsumed and ultimately vanished. Education, the pupil teacher system and a teaching career provided thousands, if not tens of thousands, of Scottish women during the period 1850-1901 with a means to earn a living, and gain status within their communities. Teacher training colleges provided professional training and recognised qualifications, which enabled women to be upwardly socially mobile from the working classes (usually the respectable skilled working classes) to the middle classes. For some women, a teaching career gave opportunities for travel. And yet, the vaunted myth of the successful ‘lad o’ pairts’ fails to encompass these successful women. There is ample scope for further ‘recovery’ work, to use primary sources to discover many more examples of Scottish Victorian teachers with remarkable careers. And yet, however many examples are produced, these women cannot be retrospectively inserted into the ‘lad’ myth because they lived their lives largely within a different narrative regarding career success; that the Victorian woman worked for some greater good and, unlike the ‘lad’ not for personal self-advancement.

Appendix One – Schools from which pupil teachers sat the Entrance Examination to Teacher Training College 1894, arranged by county.

(Total number from each county given in brackets after the area; position in pass list given in brackets after each school; the numbers showing the position are not unique, as girls gaining the same mark shared a position in the list.)

Shetland (2)

Sandsting, Skeld Public School (400)

Lerwick, Central Public School (600)

Orkney (12)

Stromness Public School (95, 133)

Kirkwall Burgh Public School (241, 671, 784)

Westray, Pierowall Public School (320)

Bursay and Harray, Dounby Public School (431, 792)

Sandwick, South Public School (510)

Lady, Central Public School (623)

South Ronaldsay, Tomison's Public School (752)

South Ronaldsay, Hope Public School (794)

Caithness (9)

West Banks Public School, Wick (120),

Thurso, West Public School (212)

Canisbay, Mey Public School (244)

North Public School, Wick (246, 380, 463, 519)

Latheron, Lybster Public School (627)

Killimster Public School, Wick (745)

Sutherland (0)

Ross and Cromarty (8)

Tain Public School (69)
 Duirinish, Borrodale Public School (329)
 Bragar Public School, Barvas (523)
 Brigend Public School, Rosskeen (523)
 Cross Public School, Barvas (531)
 Female Independent School, Stornoway (623)
 Cromarty Public School (698)
 Edderton Public School (741)

Invernessshire (14)

Kingussie Public School (32, 329)
 Portree Public School (57)
 Raining's Society, Inverness (91, 200, 316, 531, 564)
 Borrodale Public School, Isle of Skye (329)
 Central Public School, Inverness (420)
 Deshar Public School, Duthil (641)
 Markinch Public School, Inverness (643)
 Cromarty Public School (741)
 Edderton Public School (741)

Nairnshire (3)

Monitory Public School, Nairn (538, 645)
 Campbell's Public School, Ardclach (627)

Moray (13)

Lossiemouth Public School (49)
 Girls Public School, Elgin (117)
 Milne's School, Fochabers (138, 211)
 Burghead Public School (246)

Grantown Public School (272)

West End Public School, Elgin (279)

Glass Public School (291)

Archiestown Society School, Knockando (368)

Bishopmill Public School, Elgin (657)

St John's Episcopal, Forres (784)

Findhorn Female Public School (802)

Dyke Public School (818)

Banffshire (14)

Macduff Public School (25)

Burgh Public School, Banff (29, 91, 265)

Portsoy Public School (38, 146, 316, 503)

Buckie Public School (169, 554, 564)

Murray's Public School, Macduff (212, 275)

St Andrews Episcopal, Banff (374)

Aberdeenshire (excluding Aberdeen city) (34)

New Pitsligo (67)

Boddam Public School, Peterhead (91)

Gordon Public School, Huntly (95, 199, 416)

Craigton Public School, Peterculter (125, 374, 732)

Eddiston Public School, Peterculter (146)

Buxburn Public School, Newhills (163, 256)

Kininmonth Public School (174, 206)

Kemnay Public School (177)

Ellon Public School (184)

Portlethan Public School (233)

Turriff Public School (237, 291)

Tillymorgan Episcopal, Culsalmond (242)

Glass Public School (291)

Findon Public School, Banchory Devenick (349)
 Oyne Public School (476)
 Fraserburgh Female Industrial School (531, 745)
 Whitestripes Public School, Old Machar (564)
 Lady Gordon Cathcart's Industrial School (Episcopalian) (577)
 Grasslaw Combination Public School, New Pitsligo (662)
 St Peter's Episcopal Fraserburgh (695)
 St John's Episcopal, New Pitsligo (708, 770)
 Strichen Public School (735)
 Inch Public School (735)
 Infant School Oldmeldrum (762)
 All Saints Episcopal, Strichen (766)

Aberdeen City (47)

Free Church Normal School (3, 26, 40)
 Ashley Road Public School (11)
 Woodside Public School (11, 307)
 Rosemount Public School (14, 85, 195)
 Middle Public School (21, 79)
 Skene Square Public School (47, 645)
 Church of Scotland Practising School (69, 74)
 Torry Public School (77)
 Marywell Street Public School (77, 184, 207, 339)
 Holburn Street Public School (80, 220)
 St Andrews Episcopal (85)
 Ferryhill Public School (153)
 Commerce Street Public School (163, 406, 456, 703)
 Rubislaw Public School (190)
 Hanover Street Public School (309, 559)
 Porthill Public School (336, 397, 470)
 St Clement St Public School (339, 479, 561, 781)

Old Aberdeen Public School (420, 812)

Ruthrieston Public School (438)

Skene Street Public School (469, 645)

King Street Public School (494)

York Street Public School (506, 741)

Westfield Public School (627)

Kincardineshire (3)

Reid and Burnet Endowed Female School, Banchory Ternan (177)

Johnshaven Public School, Benholm (320)

Central Public School, Banchory Ternan (388)

Angus (excluding Dundee city) (24)

Ladyloan Public School, Arbroath (109, 669)

West Public School, Forfar (129, 226)

The Abbey Public School, Arbroath (169, 339, 660)

East Public School, Forfar (195)

Southesk Public School, Montrose (237, 691)

Abbot St Public School, Arbroath (265)

Infant School, Montrose (320)

North Links Public School, Montrose (339)

Dorwards Public School, Montrose (356)

Wellbraehead Public School, Forfar (512)

North Burgh Public School, Forfar (561)

Keptie Public School, Arbroath (570)

Tannadice Public School (633)

Townhead Public School, Montrose (671, 752)

Southern Public School, Broughty Ferry (721)

Monifieth Public School (732)

Barry Public School (756)

Parkhouse Public School, Arbroath (767)

Dundee City (28)

Dudhope Public School (9, 686)
 Blackness Public School (36, 660)
 Hill Street Public School (57)
 Butterburn Public School (73, 104, 516)
 Morgan Academy (102, 129)
 Harris Academy (120)
 Liff Road Public School (157, 174)
 Clepington Public School (190, 246)
 Rosebank Public School (228, 228, 246)
 Victoria Road Public School (234)
 Hawkhill Public School (316)
 St Andrew's Church Sessional School (412, 749)
 Brown Street Public School (470)
 St Mary's Roman Catholic, Lochee (579, 713)
 Downfield Public School (671)
 South Road Public School (682)
 St Patrick's Roman Catholic (797)

Perthshire (23)

Alyth Public School (99, 623)
 Central District Public School, Perth (144)
 Longforgan Public School (160)
 Meikle Public School (187)
 Blairgowrie Public School (234)
 Pitlochery Public School (237)
 Southern District School, Perth (265)
 Coupar Angus Public School (320)
 Drummond Street Public School, Muthill (479)
 Dunbarney Public School (479)

Clunie Public School (526, 797)
 Muthill Episcopalian (531)
 Crieff Public School (538)
 Rattray Public School (603)
 Dunblane Public School (649)
 Abernethy Public School (671)
 Comrie Public School (678)
 Callendar Public School (682)
 Caledonian Road Public School, Perth (725)
 Auchterarder Public School (725)
 Mylonefield Public School, Longforgan (776)

Argyllshire (15)

High Public School, Oban (29, 519)
 Rothesay Academy (69)
 Towerd Public School, Dunoon (163)
 Argyll Street Public School, Campbelltown (212)
 Dalintober Public School, Campbelltown (246, 667)
 Oban Roman Catholic (391)
 Lochgilphead Public School (431)
 Ardrishaig Public School, Lochgilphead (452, 470)
 Grammar School, Campbeltown (476)
 Roseneath Public School (603)
 Ardentinny Public School, Dunoon (695)
 Tigh-na-bruich Public School, Kilfinan (809)

Fifeshire (35)

Tulliallan & Kincardine Public School (5, 242, 716, 721)
 Kettle Public School (13)
 East Public School, Kirkcaldy (19)
 Burgh Public School, Kirkcaldy (29)

Leslie Public School (41, 220)
 Easter Public School, Anstruther (51)
 West Public School, Kirkcaldy (53)
 Strathmiglo Public School (138)
 Newport Public School, Forgan (151)
 Ceres Public School (183, 698)
 Abbotshall Public School, Kirkcaldy (187, 279)
 Pittencrief Public School (261)
 Leven Public School (265, 749)
 St Monance Public School (279)
 Greenhills Colliery School, Whitburn (349, 470)
 Sinclairtown Public School, Dysart (356)
 Whitburn Public School (359)
 Milespark Public School, Dunfermline (368)
 Newburgh Public School (455)
 Markinch Public School (463, 526)
 Kinghorn Public School (487, 637, 807)
 Cowdenbeath Public School (526)
 Ferry-Port-On-Craig Public School (564)
 Commercial Public School, Dunfermline (596)

Kinrossshire (0)

Clackmannanshire (4)

Ludgate Public School, Alloa (59)
 Coalsnaughton Public School, Tillycoultry (275)
 Tillycoultry Public School (329)
 Menzie Public School, Alva (498)

Stirlingshire (21)

Stirling High School (27)

Carronshore Public School, Larbert (117)
 Craigs Public School, Stirling (200, 573)
 Zetland Public School, Grangemouth (222)
 Dundas Public School, Grangemouth (290)
 Bonnybridge Public School (307, 349)
 Bo'ness Public School (427)
 Polmont Public School (470)
 Central Public School, Falkirk (479)
 Northern Public School, Falkirk (503)
 Denny Public School (542)
 Craigs Public School (550)
 Lauriston Public School, Falkirk (573, 584)
 Camelon Public School, Falkirk (591)
 Kinneil Public School, Bo'ness (591)
 Callendar Public School (614)
 Bannockburn Public School, St Ninians (633, 667)

Dunbartonshire (24)

Academy Public School, Dumbarton (83, 136, 703)
 Twechar Public School (138)
 College Street Public School, Dumbarton (157)
 Townhead Public School, Kirkintilloch (169)
 Clydebank Public School, Old Kilpatrick (228, 406, 487, 550, 778)
 West Bridgend Public School, Dumbarton (349, 438)
 Bonhill Public School (374, 531)
 Duntocher Public School, Old Kilpatrick (397)
 Lairdsland Public School (476, 608)
 South Jamestown Public School, Bonhill (559)
 Main Street Public School, Bonhill (596)
 Gartconner Public School (641)
 Garscadden Public School, New Kilpatrick (789)

Dalmuir Public School, Old Kilpatrick (792)

Helensburgh Episcopalian School (794)

Renfrewshire (38)

Kilmacolm Public School (17)

Abbey Elderslie Wallace Public School, Paisley (32)

Duncan Street Public School, Greenock (59)

Jean Street Public School, Port Glasgow (104)

Glebe Public School, Greenock (109, 146, 809)

Neilston Public School (181)

Bellville Place Public School, Greenock (212, 296)

West Public School, Paisley (246)

Thornliebank Public School, Eastwood (284)

Neilson Educational Institute, Paisley (329, 579)

St John's Episcopal, West Greenock (364)

Mearns Street Public School, Greenock (391, 452)

Alan Ker Public School, Greenock (394)

Abbey Johnstone Public School, Paisley (406, 698)

Blytheswood School, Renfrew (412)

Camphill Public School, Paisley (427, 506)

Stow Public School, Paisley (479, 579)

Williamsburgh Public School, Paisley (506)

North Public School, Paisley (542, 554)

Central Public School, Gourock (585)

Pollok School, Eastwood (591, 778)

Clarkston Public School (618)

Shaw Street Public School (649)

Ferguslie Public School, Paisley (678)

East Public School, Paisley (688, 762)

Carbrook Street Public School, Paisley (691)

Stevenson Street Public School, Paisley (767)

Lanarkshire (excluding Glasgow and Govan) (48)

Ball Green Public School, Avondale (99)
 Fairie Street Public School, Rutherglen (120, 190)
 Crosshill Public School, Avondale (129)
 St John's School, Hamilton (133)
 Market Place Public School, Carluke (146)
 Newarthill Public School, Bothwell (146, 752)
 Rigside Public School, Douglas (160)
 Grammar School, Lanark (272)
 Chapelside Public School, Airdrie (279)
 Gartsherrie School, Old Monkland (284)
 Lamlash Public School, Kilbride (327)
 Caledonian Railway Company School, Carstairs (335, 573)
 Morningside Public School, Cambusnethan (339)
 Carmunnock Public School (368)
 Bargeddie Public School, Old Monkland (384)
 Burgh School, Rutherglen (416)
 Kirkhill Public School, Cambuslang (446)
 Cadder Public School (456)
 Greenfield Public School, Hamilton (456, 550, 725)
 Harthill Public School, Shotts (470)
 Muirkirk Public School (554)
 Baillieston Public School, Old Monkland (596)
 Douglas Public School (603)
 High Blantyre Public School (608)
 Langloan Public School, Old Monkland (608)
 Dalserf Public School (608)
 Lanark Burgh School (608, 738, 745)
 Low Waters Public School, Hamilton (637)
 Low Blantyre Public School (649)

Duke Street Public School, Larkhall (657)
 Wishaw Academy, Cambusnethan (682, 749)
 Cambusnethan Public School (698)
 Carnwath Public School (711)
 Tannockside Public School, Bothwell (718)
 Greenfield Public School, Hamilton (725)
 St Brides Roman Catholic, Cambuslang (776)
 West Maryston Public School, Old Monkland (784)
 Coltness Iron Works School, Newmains (794)
 New Stevenston Public School, Bothwell (797)
 Stevenston Public School (801)

Govan (30)

Rutland Crescent Public School (6, 32, 44)
 Pollockshields Public School (24, 329)
 Lambhill Public School (36, 41, 157, 449)
 Govanhill Public School (43, 400, 435)
 Broomloan Road Public School (91, 438)
 Polmadie Public School (95, 200, 246)
 Kinning Park Public School (114, 195, 487)
 Calder Street Public School (129, 144, 184, 384)
 Stewartville Public School (169)
 Fairfield Public School (296, 643)
 Abraham Hill's Trust (463)
 Church Street Public School, Partick, (531)
 Harmony Row Public School (732)

Glasgow (148)

Romford Street Public School (2, 519)
 Centre Street Public School (7, 163, 446, 713)
 John Street Bridgeton Public School (9, 657)

St George's Road Public School (17, 181)
 Woodside Public School (19, 28, 49, 364, 487)
 Petershill Public School (23, 125)
 Rockvilla Public School (44, 420)
 Overnewton Public School (51, 53, 291, 438, 438, 546, 662)
 Camlachie Public School (61, 136, 210, 523)
 Barrowfield Public School (65, 120)
 Crookston Street Public School (65, 516)
 Washington Street Public School (69)
 St James Public School (75, 637)
 Springburn Public School (80, 125, 177, 218)
 Garnethill Public School (83, 138, 416)
 Oakbank Public School (106, 261, 512)
 Gorbals Public School (107, 234, 546, 686, 773)
 Kay Public School (108, 195, 291)
 Dennistoun Public School (119, 336, 359)
 Grove Street Public School (133, 153, 218, 284, 400, 554)
 Thomson Street Public School (138)
 Henderson Street Public School (163, 384, 756)
 Martyrs Public School (163, 725)
 Dovehill Public School (174, 207, 479)
 Hozier Street Public School (177, 691)
 Shields Road Public School (204, 303, 662, 678)
 Queen Mary Street Public School (207, 573)
 Napierhall Public School (212, 309, 487, 494)
 Dobbie's Loan Public School (224, 456)
 Whitehill Public School (228, 400, 627)
 Washington Street Public School (237, 603)
 St Aloysius, Milton Street Roman Catholic (254, 773, 812)
 Townhead Public School (256, 349)
 Mathieson Street Public School (261, 591, 695)

Crookston Street Public School (269, 618, 649)
 Abbotsford Public School (269)
 Anderston Public School (284, 438)
 Springfield Public School (296, 394)
 Alexander's Public School (296, 649)
 Tureen Street Public School (303, 438)
 Shettleston Public School (314)
 St David's Public School (316, 550)
 Glasgow Free Church Normal School (336, 359, 564, 570, 596, 688)
 City Public School (339, 487)
 Kelvinhaugh Public School (349)
 Rose Street Public School (368)
 Bishop Street Public School (378)
 Oatlands Public School (412, 498, 752)
 Highland Society Public School (420)
 Freeland Public School (456)
 Wellpark Public School (479)
 Polmadie Public School (498)
 Kennedy Street Public School (526, 637)
 St John's Roman Catholic (538, 791)
 Church of Scotland Normal (570, 809)
 St Joseph's Roman Catholic (579)
 Annfield Public School (585, 618)
 Calton St Mary's Roman Catholic (585)
 Dalarnock Public School (591)
 Parkhead Public School (614)
 Sacred Heart Roman Catholic, Bridgeton (623)
 Eastmuir Roman Catholic School, Shettleston (724)
 Milton Street Public School (741)
 St Mary's Roman Catholic Carlton (818)

West Lothian (13)

Bathgate Academy (138, 246, 347, 519, 770)

Whitburn Public School (190)

Armada Public School, Bathgate (479, 546)

East Calder Public School (546)

Broxburn Public School (585)

West Calder Public School (585)

Gavieside Public School, West Calder (600)

Midcalder Public School (718)

Mid Lothian (15)

Penicuik Public School (55, 498)

Rosewell Public School, Lasswade (256)

Infant School, Penicuik (309, 388)

Kirkhill Public School, Penicuik (314)

Dalkeith Burgh School (329, 633)

Bonnyrigg Girls' School, Cockpen (406, 614)

Crichton Public School (416)

Addiewell Public School, West Calder (608)

Edmonstone Public School, Newto (708)

Newtongrange Public School, Newbattle (738)

Newbattle Public School (756)

East Lothian (8)

Primary Public School, Haddington (14)

Tranent Public School (153, 224)

East Linton Public School, Prestonkirk (309)

Combination Public School, Musselburgh & Inveresk (506)

Cockenzie Public School, Tranent (526)

Athelstaneford Public School (577)

Burgh School, Dunbar (812)

Leith (17)

Lorne Street Public School (85, 190)
 Links Place Public School (109, 802)
 Newhaven Victoria Public School (261, 279, 384)
 North Fort Street Public School (320, 435, 631, 671)
 Lochend Road Public School (364, 452)
 Yardheads Public School (487)
 St James Episcopal (561)
 Bonnington Road Public School (708, 802)

Edinburgh (42)

Free Church Normal School (1)
 North Canongate Public School (4)
 Sciennes Public School (21)
 Regent Road Public School (32, 55, 95, 427)
 Warrender Park Public School (67, 85)
 South Bridge Public School (75)
 Dean Public School (80)
 Causewayside Public School (90, 120)
 Bristo Public School (125, 431)
 New Street Public School (151, 284)
 Dalry Public School (153, 256, 406)
 North Merchiston Public School (226, 226, 339)
 James Gillespie's (269, 347)
 Castle Hill Public School (272, 327)
 Edinburgh Episcopal Practising (368, 498, 510)
 Gorgie Public School (380)
 Loudon Street Public School (438)
 Kirkliston Public School (456)
 Burgh Public School, Portobello (463, 585)

St Leonard's Public School (463, 782)
 Granton School, Cramond (603)
 St Margaret's Episcopal School (631)
 Leith Walk (662)
 St Andrew's Episcopal (725)
 St George's Local General Assembly School (784)

Ayrshire (40)

Ladyland Public School, Maybole (7)
 Dreghorn Public School (16)
 Beith Academy Public School (46, 187, 254)
 Burgh Public School, Girvan (47, 99)
 Smith's Institution Public School, Ayr (109)
 Bank Street Public School, Irvine (220)
 Mauchline Public School (284)
 Grammar School, Ayr (296)
 Saltcoats Public School, Ardrossan (320)
 Skelmorlie Public School (320)
 Wallacetown Public School, Ayr (359)
 Academy Public School, Kilmarnock (374)
 Newton Academy, Ayr (391, 688)
 Female Industrial School, Dalry (400)
 New Cumnock Public School (420)
 Darnconner Public School, Auchinleck (435)
 Cairns Public School, Maybole (463)
 Wellington Street Public School, Kilmarnock (494)
 Glencairn Public School, Kilmarnock (516, 716, 812)
 Kilmarnock Grammar (503)
 Old Cumnock Public School (531, 662)
 Hurlford Public School, Riccarton (538)
 Stevenston Public School (579)

Crosshouse Public School, Kilmaurs (649)

Kilwinning Public School (669)

Newtonhead Public School, Ayr (671)

West End Public School, Dalry (678)

No. 2 Public School, Ardrossan (703)

Glencairn Public School, Kilmarnock (716)

Ayr Colliery School, Tarbolton, Annbank (718)

Dalmellington Ironworks School (725)

Annbank Public School, Tarbolton (762)

Landward Public School, Girvan (818)

Buteshire (1)

Burgh Public School, Rothesay (309)

Peeblesshire (3)

Innerleithen Public School (38, 296)

Halyrude Public School, Peebles (691)

Berwickshire (2)

Lauder Public School (397)

Eyemouth Public School (802)

Selkirkshire (1)

Yarrow Public School (542)

Roxburghshire (11)

Trinity Public School, Hawick (114)

Sandystones Public School, Ancrum (303)

St John's Episcopal, Jedburgh (359, 412, 512)

Jedburgh Grammar (368)

Ednam Public School (554)

Infant School, Kelso (725)

Kelso Public School (738)

Melrose Public School (802)

Ancrum Public School (807)

Dumfriesshire (7)

Dryfesdale Public School, Lockerbie (64, 160, 427)

Langholm Public School (85, 698)

Canonbie Public School (380)

Amisfield Public School, Tinwald (569)

Kirkcudbrightshire (8)

Auchincarn Public School, Rerrick (394)

Dalbeattie Public School (494)

High Public School, Buittle (512)

Girthon Cally English Episcopalian School (614)

Glasgow Street Public School, Troqueer, Maxwelltown (633)

Stronard Public School, Minnigaff (758, 818)

Old Church School, Kirkcudbright (797)

Wigtownshire (3)

Meoul Roman Catholic School, Stonykirk (431)

Kirkcowan Public School (649)

Glasserton Road Public School, Whithorn (745)

England (1)

Ullenhall School, Warwick.

Appendix Two

Students at Dowanhill 1901 census

Name	Age	Birthplace	Comments
Kerr, Kate	25	Dumbarton	Boarder at Elmwood Ladies School in 1891.
McCabe, Kate	21	Glasgow, Lanark	
Roberts, Gertrude	21	England	
York, Florence	20	England	
Brander (or Brandon) Annie	21	Glasgow, Lanark.	
Smith, Margaret	20	England	
McKernan, Margaret	20	England	
McCue, Annie	22	Ireland	
Appleton, Frances	21	England	
Logan, Sarah	20	Greenock, Renfrew	
McDade, Mary	21	Illegible, Renfrew	
Cormack, Kate	22	Glasgow, Lanark	
Hobin, Bridget	20	Lochee, Forfar.	
Florance, Bridget	22	Ireland	
Hart, Kate	21	Edinburgh	
(illegible) Lizzie	21	England	
Beansley, Emily	20	England	
Hughes, Mary	20	Ireland	
Lennox, Jacobina	23	Kilmarnock	Living in Kilmorack, Invernesshire in 1891.
McCann, Kate	21	Blairgowrie, Perthshire	
Mahon (Mabon?), Annie	22	Ireland	
Logan, Louisa	21	Glasgow, Lanark	
Hickson, Josephine	21	Durham, England	Father a draper. Teaching in Yorkshire in 1911.
Young, Mary	21	England	
Walsh, Josephine	20	England	
Higgins, Rose	21	Glasgow, Lanark	Irish parents. Father a railway carter.
McGowan, Margaret	21	Ireland	
McElree (McChree?)	21	Glasgow, Lanark	
Tierney, Mary	22	Glasgow, Lanark	
Healy, Agnes	21	Glasgow, Lanark	Irish parents. Father foreman tubemaker. All children of marriage born Scotland.

Leary, Mary	22	Ireland	
McFarlane, Georgina	20	Spean Bridge, Inverness-shire	Father merchant. Gaelic speaker.
Priestley, Henrietta	20	England	
Duncan, Teresa	22	Banchory Ternan, Kincardineshire	Census wrongly gives place of birth as Banchory.
Whalley (?) , Mary	20	England	
Bogle (?), Agnes	22	Glasgow, Lanark	
Mather, illegible	22		
McGinty, Jeannie	23	Turriff, Aberdeenshire	
Mulvihill, Margaret	20	England	
Heaney, Susan	20	Glasgow, Lanark	In R.C. orphanage in 1891.
Brown, Mary Gordon	20	Glasgow, Lanark.	Father an accountant. No servs in 1881.
Hughes, Margarita.	22	Ireland.	
McMahon, Mary.	19	Glasgow, Lanark	
Hannay (?) Agnes	20	Dunfermline	
Illegible, Mary	20	Clelland, Lanark	
Moore, Agnes	20	Greenock, Renfrew	
Healy, Sarah	21	Ireland	
McAllister, Kate	20	Glasgow, Lanark	
Milroy, Dora	20	England	
Hilton, Mary Jane	19	England	
Rae, Mary	20	Bankhead, Aberdeen	
Cherry, Johanna	20	Ireland	Family in Glasgow in 1891. Father a yarn twister.
Johnson, Mary	20	Partick, Lanark	
McLauchlan, Cecilia	20	Govan, Lanark	
McGowan, Rose	20	Ireland	
Boyle, Annie	19	Glasgow, Lanark	
McPherson, Jessie	20	Benbecula, Invernessshire	
O'Connor, Teresa	20	England	
Illegible, Margaret	20	England	
McLachlan, Jessie	19	Port Glasgow, Renfrew	
Flana...., Rose	20	Ireland	
McDonell, Louisa	20	Fort Augustus, Invernessshire	
Ganoph, Bride	20	Ireland	
McLennan, Susan	21	Ireland	
Paterson, Jessie,	19	Buckie, Banffshire	
Illegible, Philomena	19	Glasgow, Lanark	
Owen, Hellen	21	Renfrew	
Wiseman, Barbara	19	Dufftown, Banff	

Grant, Gertrude	20	England	
Doran, Agnes	19	Glasgow, Lanark	
McDonald, Millicent	19	Gibraltar	
Quin, Mary	20	Glasgow, Lanark	
Wishart, Lizzie	20	England	
Del-something, Sarah	20	Lanark	
Graham, Frances	20	England	

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Index of Women

Surname	First name	Area	Date of birth	Parental occupation	Chapter
Aberdeen	Ishbel	Aberdeen	14-3- 1857	M.P.	5
Alexander	Jane R.	Govan	9-8-1840	Jeweller	6
Alexander	Helen	Dundee	1-10-1854	Newspaper proprietor	5
Allan	Elizabeth	Govan	-	-	3
Allington	Constance	Govan	25-1-1882	WM.	4
Amos	Agnes	Edinburgh	1887	Slater / glazier	4
Amos	Effie	Edinburgh	1890	Slater/glazier	4
Amos	Frances	Edinburgh	1884	Slater/glazier	4
Amos	Jane R.	Edinburgh	1879	Slater/glazier	4
Amos	Martha J.	Edinburgh	1876	Slater/glazier	4
Amos	Mary Jane	Edinburgh	1868	Coach painter	4
Anderson	Bella	Kildonan	1878	Police sergeant	3
Anderson	Jane	Dundee	-	-	6
Anderson	Janet	Govan	1853	-	6
Anderson	Miss	Aberdeen	-	-	6
Anderson	Mrs	Edinburgh	-	-	6
Annand	Rachel	Aberdeen	3-4-1876	Stonemason	Intro, 4
Appleton	Frances	-	1880	-	7
Arnott	Annie	Edinburgh	1868	Draper's assistant	3
Baillie	Hannah	Kildonan	1878	Shoemaker	5
Baillie	Maggie	Kildonan	1876	Shoemaker	5
Bain	Agnes	Edinburgh	-	-	2
Bain	Margaret	Aberdeen	1857	Master carpenter	2,6
Baird	Bella	Dundee	-	-	4
Baird	Marjory	Dundee	1850	Loom mechanic -linen	5,6
Ballantyne	Maria	Edinburgh	1868	Factory mechanic	3
Band	Maggie	Dundee	1867	Builder	2
Banks	Jessie	Kildonan	1877	Farmer	5,6
Banks	Kate	Kildonan	1874	Farmer	5,6
Bannerman	Christina	Aberdeen	1842	Storeman	5
Bannister	E	-	-	-	Intro
Baxter	Mary Ann	Dundee	1801	Linen manufacturer	1
Beansley	Emily	-	1881	-	7
Beck	(Malzina) Harriet	Edinburgh	1844	Groom	6, Conc.
Beck	Janet	Edinburgh	1844	Groom	6
Beck	Sarah	Edinburgh	1848	Groom	6
Beech	Harriet	Edinburgh	-	-	6
Beet	Elizabeth	-	-	-	7
Bell	Elizabeth T.	Dundee	1868	Schoolmaster	6
Bennett	Jane	-	1866	Stonecutter	5

	(Jeannie)				
Bennie	Jane	Govan	1835	Coalminer	3
Bertie	Ada B.	Dundee	1873	Joiner manager	5
Bertie	Elizabeth	Dundee	1842	Aged 10, living with grandmother, a pauper.	6
Birnie	Helen	Aberdeen	1872	WM	2
Black	Euphemia	Dundee	1856	WM – no occ given	5
Blackadder	Agnes F.	Dundee	1875	Architect	2
Blythe	Phoebe	Edinburgh	1816	Metal merchant	2
Bogle	Agnes	-	1879	-	7
Bothwell	Margaret	Aberdeen	1844	Farmer	Intro
Boyle	Annie	-	1882	-	7
Brander	Annie	-	1880	-	7
Brebner	Louise	Aberdeen	1876	Church minister	5
Bremner	Janet A.	Aberdeen	1869	Court-house keeper	4
Brooksbank	Mary	Dundee	1897	Dock labourer	Intro
Brown	Joan Noble	Edinburgh	1875	Y.M.C.A secretary	4
Brown	Mary	Edinburgh	-	-	4
Brown	Mary Gordon	-	1881	Accountant	7
Brown	Mary J	Dundee	-	-	5
Brown	Meredith	Aberdeen	1846	Free Church minister	Intro
Brownlie	Margaret	Govan	6-12- 1850	Wood merchant	6
Burgess	Isabella	Aberdeen	1859	F-merchant seaman Aunt- grocer	3, 5
Burton	Jane Eliza	-	1848	Photographer	7
Burton	Mary	Edinburgh	-	-	2
Cadenhead	Mary A.	Aberdeen	1841	Shoemaker	4
Calder	Minnie	Edinburgh	1877	F- Egg merchant WM – Art embroiderer	4
Callan	Bridget	Dundee	1876	WM – Factory worker	4, 7
Cameron	Agnes	Govan	1843	WM- shirt maker	3
Cameron	Catherine	-	-	-	7
Campbell	Ellen, sr.	Sutherland	1819	-	5
Campbell	Ellen, jr	Sutherland	1841	WM- teacher	5
Campbell	Louisa	Govan	9-8-1845	Bank messenger	6
Carmichael	Nellie R.	Dundee	1869	Leather merchant	4
Carswell	Catherine	-	27-3-1879	Commission agent and merchant	Intro
Carter	Lucy A.	-	1875	Land agent	7
Caskie	Jessie	Dundee	-	-	5
Cattanach	Mary	Aberdeen	1838	Tailor	7
Caulfield	Margaret	-	-	-	7
Cavanagh	Winifred	-	1875	-	7
Chalmers (later Mrs	Isabella Low	Aberdeen	16-1- 1845	Tenant farmer	4,5,6,

Skea)					
Cherry	Johanna	-	1881	Yarn Twister	7
Chisholm	Georgina	-	1866	Ship broker	7
Chisholm	Matilda	-	1864	Ship broker	7
Chisholm	(Miss)	Sutherland	-	-	6
Clapperton	Margaret T	Edinburgh	1811	Merchant	7
Clunas	Agnes	Edinburgh	1851	Mason	5
Clunas	Lila	Dundee	10-8-1876	Dress shop proprietor	5,6
Clutton	Alice M.	Aberdeen	1867	Architect	7
Conroy	Kate	-	-	-	7
Cook	Alice	Aberdeen	1874	Master carpenter	3
Cook	Elsie	Aberdeen	1880	Master carpenter	3
Cook	Frances	Aberdeen	1878	Master carpenter	3
Cook	Sylvia	Aberdeen	1876	Master carpenter	3
Copland	Christina	Aberdeen	1843	Slater	6
Cormack	Kate	Glasgow	1879	-	7
Crabbe	Wilhelmina	Dundee	1846	Mill manager	6
Craigmyle	Elizabeth (Bessie)	Aberdeen	1863	Teacher	5
Crassweller	Ellen	Dundee	1859	Baptist minister	5
Cumming	Elizabeth	Aberdeen	-	-	4
Dailly	Rose	Dundee	1889	-	2
Davidson	Jane	Edinburgh	1855	Stepfather Staff sergeant	6
Davidson	Margaret	Dundee	1 -1 1862	Farm manager	6
Davies	Ethel	Dundee	1874	M(wid) teacher	6
Davies	Jessie	Dundee	1846	-	6
Deas	Elizabeth	Dundee	1856	Draper	4, 5
Deas	Susanella	Dundee	1860	Draper	4
De Beurren	Jeanne	Aberdeen	1867	-	7
Dick	Georgina	Dundee	1856	Boot/shoemaker	5
Dickie	-	Govan	-	-	5
Doran	Agnes	-	1882	-	7
Dow	Annabella	Govan	1860	Wine and spirit merchant	3
Dow	Mary	Govan	1862	Wine and spirit merchant	3
Duff	Bella	Dundee	1862	Living with maternal relatives – grandfather a grocer.	3
Duffus	Janet	Aberdeen	1868	Farmer	4
Duncan	Elspe	Aberdeen		Stepfather and mother superintendant and matron of House of Refuge	3
Duncan	Isabella	Govan	1876	M(wid) –lodginghouse	5

				keeper	
Duncan	Theresa	-	1879	Sawmiller, employing 2 men and 5 boys in 1881.	
Duthie	Margaret R.	Aberdeen	1881	F- baker's van driver M (wid)- hotel keeper	4
Eastwood	Annie	-	-	-	Intro
Egan	Mary Margaret	-	1877	Provision merchant	7
Elder	Annie	Dundee	1859	Engineering manager	5
Ewen	Agnes	Aberdeen	14 -1-1854	Woodturner	5
Ewen	Annie	Aberdeen	16 -4-1856	Woodturner	5,6
Ewen	Davina	Dundee	1881	Bookseller (d bef 1891) M(wid) – no occ listed	4
Ewen	Isabella	Dundee	1881	Bookseller (d bef 1891) M(wid) – no occ listed	4
Ewen	Jessie	Dundee	1876	Bookseller (d bef 1891) M(wid) – no occ listed	4
Ewen	Maggie	Dundee	1873	Bookseller (d bef 1891) M(wid) – no occ listed	4
Ewen	Williamina	Dundee	1874	Bookseller (d bef 1891) M(wid) – no occ listed	4
Ewing	Jessie	Sutherland	1864	Crofter	3
Fairlie	Jessie	Dundee	1869	Farmer -153 acres in 1871	5
Fairweather	Helen H.	Dundee	1872	Master Bootmaker	4
Fairweather	Jane	Dundee	1859	Master Bootmaker	4
Falconer	Blanche J.M.	Aberdeen	1878	Shipmaster	3
Falconer	Elizabeth	Aberdeen	1880	Shipmaster	3
Falconer	Margaret P.	Aberdeen	1867	Shipmaster	3
Falconer	Mary	Aberdeen	1872	Shipmaster	3
Farquharson	Christian	Aberdeen		Comb-maker, later grocer	2,5, Conc.
Farrelly	Bertha	-	-	-	7
Ferguson	Catherine Jane	Dundee	1863	Shoemaker	5
Ferguson	Helen	Govan	-	-	2
Ferguson, Mrs		Govan	-	-	2
Findlay	Jane	Govan	-	-	2
Fish	Elizabeth	Edinburgh	1860	City missionary/ Chaplain of Poorhouse	6
Fisher	Janet (Jessie)	Dundee	6-4-1864	M(wid) teacher	3
Fisher (nee Kidd)	Margaret	Dundee	1834	Shipmaster	3
Florance	Bridget	-	-	-	7
Forbes	Jessie	Kildonan	1850	Free church minister	4
Fraser	Annie	-	-	-	7

Fraser	Jemima	Aberdeen	1865	F-Inn keeper M(wid) hotel-keeper	5
Fyvie Mayo	Isabella	Aberdeen	10-12-1843	Baker	2, 5
Galbraith	Agnes	-	-	-	7
Gallacher	Agnes	-	-	-	7
Galloway	Agnes	Edinburgh	1837	Head of household (bro-in-law) mason's labourer	3
Ganolph	Bride	-	-	-	7
Garry	Flora	-	1900	writer	Intro
George	Elizabeth	Dundee	1866	F-gardener M-wid (no occ given)	2
Gilchrist	Jessie	Kildonan	1861	schoolmaster	5
Gill	Jane	Dundee	-	-	6
Glennie	Margaret	Aberdeen	26-8-1862	Gardener	5
Goldie	Agnes	Edinburgh	1835	Cabinet-maker employing ten men.	3
Goldie	Joan	Edinburgh	1826	Cabinet-maker employing ten men.	3
Goldie	Mary	Edinburgh	1833	Cabinet-maker employing ten men.	3
Gordon	Elizabeth	-	-	-	7
Gow	Christina	Kildonan	1883	Railway surfaceman	4
Gow	Mag	Dundee	-	-	1
Graham	Frances	-	-	-	7
Grant	Catherine	Kildonan	1865	-	3
Grant	Gertrude	-	-	-	7
Gray	Maggie	Aberdeen	4-2-1849	Clerk	5, Conc.
Gray	Annabella	Dundee	1872	Science teacher	4
Gray	Margaret	Govan	1877	Joiner	3
Gray	Mary W.	Dundee	1880	Science teacher	4
Green	Barbara	Kildonan	1871	Grocer and spirit dealer	5
Grierson	Lucy	-	-	-	7
Gunn	Barbara	Loth	1879	Meal miller	3
Gunn	Maggie	Loth	1881	Meal miller	5
Hall	Henrietta	Aberdeen	9 -7-1865	F- officer of inland revenue M (wid) kept lodgers	6
Hamilton	Miss	Govan	-	-	2
Hanlon	Kathleen	England	1874	-	7
Hannay	Agnes	Dunfermline	1881	-	7
Hardie	Rose	Govan	1864	Cabinet-maker / upholsterer	7
Harkness	Agnes	Govan	1854	Free Church minister	3

Harkness	Helen	Govan	1864	Free Church minister	3
Harkness	Mary	Govan	1856	Free Church minister	3
Hart	Kate	Edinburgh	1880	? M (wid) Dressmaker	7
Hay	Elizabeth	Aberdeen	-	-	4
Healy	Agnes	-	1880	Foreman tubemaker	7
Healy	Sarah	-	1880	-	7
Heaney	Susan	-	1881	(In orphanage aged 10.)	7
Henderson	Marion M.	Aberdeen	1869	Railway engine driver	4
Henderson	Mary W.	Edinburgh	1877	Mason	3
Henry	Susan	-	1882	Railway engine driver	7
Hetherington	Hannah	Govan	9-3-1858	Spirit merchant's salesman	5
Hickson	Josephine	-	1880	Draper	7
Higgins	Rose	-	1880	Railway carter	7
Hilton	Mary Jane	-	1882	-	7
Hobin	Bridget	Dundee	1878	Grocer	4,7
Hoey	Isabel	-	1840	Hawkers	7
Hofler	Pauline	Aberdeen	1873	Watchmaker	7
Howden	Agnes	Edinburgh	1847	-	6
Hughes	Margarita	-	1879	-	7
Hughes	Mary	-	1881	-	7
Hunter	Annie M.	Aberdeen	1876	Upholsterer	4
Hunter	Flora	-	-	-	4
Hunter	Isabella S.	Aberdeen	1873	Upholsterer	4
Hunter	Jane	Aberdeen	-	-	4
Husband	Agnes	Dundee	1852	Sailor / shipmaster	2
Hyslop	Jessie Vass	Aberdeen	12-9- 1866	Innkeeper	5
Imrie	Helen	Dundee	1849	WM – no occ stated	5
Imrie	Mary	Dundee	1853	WM- no occ stated	5
Johnson	Mary	-	1881	-	7
Johnston	Maggie	Govan	1851	Master Wright and builder	6
Johnston	Mary	Govan	-	-	7
Johnstone	Miss	Aberdeen	-	-	6
Jones	Miss	Aberdeen	-	-	4
Joyce	Lizzie	-	-	-	7
Kay	Caroline E.	Aberdeen	1829	Prison teacher	5
Kay	Christina	Edinburgh	1878	Cabinet maker	Conc.
Kay	Mary Helen	Dundee	1862	Sea engineer WM - housekeeper	4, 6
Kean	Kathleen	-	-	-	7
Kelly	Jane	Govan	1872	Boilermaker	7
Ker	Margaret Stewart	Aberdeen	1857	Free Church minister	5
Kerr	Kate	-	1876	-	7
Kidd	Jessie	Dundee	1864	Shipping agent	5

Kidd	Margaret B.	Dundee	1868	Shipping agent	5
King	Elizabeth	Govan	-	-	3
Laing	Helen F.	Aberdeen	1877	Papermill worker	3
Laird	Christina	Govan	1862	Printer compositor	5
Laird	Jessie	Govan	1856	Printer compositor	5
Lambert	Isabella	Edinburgh	1855	Missionary minister	6
Lang	Jessie	Govan	1852	Carter	5
Lapraik	Elizabeth	Govan	1876	Clerk	4
Leary	Mary	-	1879	-	7
Leitch	Miss	Kildonan	-	-	2,5
Lennox	Jacobina	-	1878	Master tailor	7
Leslie	Ann	-	-	-	Intro
Leslie	Christina	-	-	-	Intro
Lewins	Dora	Aberdeen	1863	F-Doctor M-Teacher	5
Lewins	Eliza	Aberdeen	1823	Teacher	5
Liddell	Martha F.	Edinburgh	1868	Cabinet maker	3
Linklater	Lizzie R.	Aberdeen	1884	F-Grocer WM-Took in boarders	4
Lipp	Elizabeth	-	1854	Innkeeper	4
Logan	Louisa	-	1880	-	7
Logan	Sarah	-	1881	-	7
Lorimer	Hilda L.	Dundee	1873	Free Church minister	2
Low	Elspet	Aberdeen	-	Crofter	6
MacDonald	Mary C.	Dundee	1878	WM-music teacher	5
MacDonald	Miss	Kildonan	-	-	5
MacDonald	Ann	-	1881	-	7
MacDonald	Elicia	-	-	-	7
MacDonald	Elizabeth	Dundee	-	-	2,5
MacDonald	Georgina	Kildonan	1846	Schoolmaster	5
MacKay	Annabella	Kildonan	1858	Shepherd	5
MacKay	Hughina	Kildonan	1827	WM-no occ	2
MacKay	Jessie	Kildonan	-	-	5
MacKay	Johan	Kildonan	-	-	5
MacKay	Mary	Kildonan	1845	-	2
MacKay	Rebecca	Kildonan	-	-	2
MacKenzie	Jessie	Govan	1851	-	5
Maher	Cecilia	-	1876	-	7
Mahon	Annie	-	1879	-	7
Main	Margaret	Edinburgh	-	-	2
Mallender	Janet	-	1876	Gardener	7
Maltman	Barbara	Govan	1855	Manufacturer	3
Maltman	Marion	Govan	1861	Manufacturer	3
Marshall	Margaret	Aberdeen	1846	Plumber	6
Mather	-	-	-	-	7
Matthew	Davina	Dundee	1870	Grocer	5

May	Robina	-	1871	Farm overseer	5
McAllister	Kate	-	1881	-	7
McAllister	Mary A.				7
McArthur	Annie	Govan	1876	Coal merchant	4
McArthur	Helen	Govan	1879	Coal merchant	4
McArthur	Hilda	Govan	1880	Coal merchant	4
McArthur	Mary	Govan	1877	Coal merchant	4
McArthur	Miss	Govan	-	-	5
McArtney	Margaret	Dundee	1891	Jute Weaver	2
McBeath	Mary	Kildonan	-	-	5
McBrearty	Margaret A.	-	1859	Civil assistant, Ordnance Survey	7
McCabe	Kate	-	1880	-	7
McCann	Kate	-	1880	-	7
McCaul	Annabel	Edinburgh	1839	-	7
McCombie	Effie	Aberdeen	1875	WM-living on own means	5
McCue	Annie	-	1879	-	7
McDade	Sarah	-	1880	-	7
McDonald	Elizabeth	-	-	-	7
McDonald	Millicent	-	1882	-	7
McDonald	Susannah	Dundee	1867	Ironmonger	2
McDonell	Louisa	-	1881	-	7
McEachern	Anne	Edinburgh	1842	Farmer	2
McFarlane	Ethel	-	-	Chemist	7
McFarlane	Georgina	-	1881	Merchant	7
McFarlane	Jane	-	-	-	7
McFarlane	Muriel	-	-	Chemist	7
McFarlane	Winifred	-	-	Chemist	7
McGarvie	Catherine	Edinburgh	1839	Tailor	7
McGeehan	Mary	-	-	-	7
McGinty	Jeannie	-	1878	-	7
McGowan	Margaret	-	1881	-	7
McGowan	Rose	-	1880	-	7
McHardy	Janie	-	1866	-	7
McKay	Agnes	Dundee	1863	Shipmaster	6
McKay	Alexandrina	Kildonan	-	-	4
McKay	Annie	Kildonan	-	-	4
McKernan	Margaret	-	1881	-	7
McKerrow	Mrs	-	-	-	Intro
McLachlan	Jessie	-	1882	-	7
McLaren	Isabella	Edinburgh	1835	WM	3
McLaren	Priscilla (Mrs Duncan)	Edinburgh	1815	Cotton manufacturer	2
McLauchlan	Cecilia	Govan	1881	Commercial traveller	7

McLennan	Maggie	Kildonan	-	-	5
McLennan	Susan	-	1880	-	
McLennan	Miss	Kildonan	-	-	2
McLennan	Miss	Dundee	-	-	5
McLeod	Christina	Kildonan	-	Crofter	3
McLeod	Dolina	Kildonan	1883	Crofter	3
McLernan	Elizabeth	-	1872	-	7
McMahon	Mary	-	1882	-	7
McMillan	Christina	Kildonan	1868	Teacher	3,5
McNicoll	Elizabeth	Dundee	1861	Accountant	6
McPherson	Agnes	Edinburgh	1844	Plasterer	7
McPherson	Cecilia	Edinburgh	1847	Plasterer	7
McPherson	Jessie	-	1881	-	7
McPherson	Theresa	Edinburgh	1845	Plasterer	7
McRobert	Elizabeth	-	-	Blacksmith	5
McWhinnie	Mary A.	Govan	1850	Pattern weaver	5
Melville	Jane	Kildonan	1883	Crofter and Railway Surfaceman	3
Menzies	Marjory	Aberdeen	1864	Millwright	5
Merson	Mary	Aberdeen	1845	Living with grandparents aged 6. GF-farmer	4
Millar	Emily M.	Dundee	1877	Shipwright	4
Millar	Isabella	Dundee	1871	Shipwright	4
Millar	Jessie	Dundee	1870	Shipwright	4
Millar	Martha	Dundee	1872	Shipwright	4
Millar	Mary Ann	Dundee	1861	Shipwright	4
Miller	Margaret	Dundee	1886	Juteworker	2
Mills	Ada J.D.	Dundee	1870	North Sea Pilot	5
Mills	Alice	Dundee	1862	Grocer	3
Mills	Isabella S.	Dundee	1856	Grocer	5
Milne	Elspet	-	-	-	7
Milne	Mary Ann	Aberdeen	1831	Mason	6
Milroy	Dora	-	1881	-	7
Mitchell	Miss	Edinburgh	-	-	6
Moir	Maria S.	Aberdeen	1845	General merchant	4
Moon	Elspeth	Dundee	1862	Blacksmith	3
Moon	Lorna	-	1886	Plasterer	Intro
Moore	Hannah	Dundee	1890	Jute worker	2
Morren	Georgina	Aberdeen	1800	-	3
Morrice	Isabella G.	Aberdeen	1888	Shoemaker	4
Morrice	Jane	Aberdeen	-	-	5
Muir	I.I.	Kildonan	-	-	5
Mullen	Anne Jane	-	-	-	7
Mullen	Mary	Govan	1866	-	3
Mulvihill	Margaret	-	1881	-	7

Munro	Elizabeth	Aberdeen	-	-	5
Munro	Jane	Aberdeen	1834	WM "makes bags"	3
Murdoch	Agnes M.	Edinburgh	1880	Gas works store keeper	4
Murdoch	Jane	Edinburgh	1878	Gas works store keeper	4
Murray	Isabella	Aberdeen	-	-	5
Murray	Janet	Govan	-	Coalminer	3
Murray	Mary Ann	-	1872	-	7
Murray	Mrs	Edinburgh	-	-	6
Mustard	Elizabeth	Aberdeen	27-2-62	Clerk	2, 5, Conc.
Myron	Mary	Kildonan	1837	Farmer	5
Napier	Annie	Dundee	1867	Fish curer	5
Napier	Catherine	Dundee	1869	Fish curer	4, 5
Nicoll	Mary	Dundee	1857	Bleaching overseer	6
Nisbet	Elizabeth	Aberdeen	1854	Plumber	6
Noble	Isobel M.	Kildonan	1875	-	6
Noonan	Catherine	Dundee	1878	Market Gardener	4, 7
O'Connor	Ellen	Aberdeen	1878	-	7
O'Connor	Teresa	-	1881	-	7
O'Hagan	Annie	-	1874	Shipyard driller	7
O'Hagan	Mary	-	1871	-	7
O'Malley	Ada	-	1874	-	7
Ogg	Alexanderina	Aberdeen	1851	Land surveyor WM-no occ stated	4,6
Ogg	Catherine	Aberdeen	1845	Land surveyor WM – no occ stated	4
Ogg	Jane	Aberdeen	-	-	4
Ogilvie	Maria	-	1864	Headmaster	Intro
Ogilvie	Sarah	Aberdeen	1850	Upholsterer	4
Oliphant	Margaret	-	1828	-	Intro
Orr	Jane	Govan	1839	-	5
Owen	Hellen	-	1880	-	7
Paterson	Jessie	-	1882	-	7
Paterson	Margaret	-	-	-	7
Pearce	Dinah	Govan	1837	-	2
Polson	Jean	Kildonan	1843	Crofter	2
Porter	Barbara	Dundee	1862	Blacksmith	5
Powell	Ellen	-	-	-	7
Priestley	Henrietta	-	1881	-	7
Pringle	Angelique	-	1846	Commercial traveller	Intro
Pyott	Annie T.	Dundee	1864	Manager in Linen factory	4,5
Quin(n)	Mary Agnes	-	-	-	7
Quin	Mary	-	1881	-	7
Rae	Elspe	Kildonan	1865	Farm manager	3
Rae	Mary	Aberdeen	1881	-	7

Rae	Mary	Kildonan	1865	Farm manager	3
Rainy	Christina	Edinburgh	-	-	2
Reach	Margaret	Edinburgh	-	-	6
Reith	Anne	Aberdeen	1866	Farmer	3
Reith	Dorothy	Aberdeen	1863	Farmer	3
Reith	Jane	Aberdeen	1864	Farmer	3
Reith	Mary	Aberdeen	1868	Farmer	3
Reith	Rachel	Aberdeen	1870	Farmer	3
Riach	Margaret	Edinburgh	1860	Schoolmaster	5
Riley	Alice	-	-	-	7
Robb	Elizabeth	Dundee	-	Shore Porter	6
Robbie	Elizabeth	Dundee	-	Storekeeper	6
Roberts	Gertrude	-	1880	-	7
Roberts	Helena	-	-	-	7
Robertson	Agnes	Dundee	1882	-	3
Robertson	Hannah	Dundee	-	Master mariner WM – took in lodgers	3
Robertson	Helen	Aberdeen	1850	Quarry worker	6
Robertson	Isabella T.	Aberdeen	1823	crofter	4
Robertson	Jane	Kildonan	1824	Shepherd	2
Robertson	Mary	Kildonan	1821	Shepherd	2
Robertson	Miss	Dundee	-	-	6
Robertson	Miss	Govan	-	-	5
Rogers	Catherine D.	-	-	-	Intro
Rogerson	Christina	Dundee	1870	WM-teacher	5
Rogerson	Jane	Dundee	1847	Schoolmaster	5
Ross	Cecile	Dundee	1862	Wine merchant	3
Ross	Louisa	Aberdeen	-	-	4
Ross	Mary	Dundee	1858	Wine merchant	3
Ross	Miss	Govan	-	-	6
Ross	Miss	Kildonan	-	-	5
Rutherford	Margaret	Kildonan	1863	-	3
Scorgie	Mary	Aberdeen	-	Farmer	5
Scott	Janet	Govan	-	-	3
Scott	Robina	Dundee	-	-	6
Scrowther	Elizabeth	-	-	Grandfather- Agri labourer	7
Shand	Janet	Aberdeen	25-2-1858	Mill Manager	3
Shaw	Eliza	Dundee	1840	Blacksmith	5,6
Shaw	Jessie G.	Dundee	1838	Blacksmith	2,6, Conc.
Shepherd	Barbara	Dundee	1883	Joiner	3
Shepherd	Nan	Aberdeen	1893	Civil Engineer	Intro
Shirreffs	Jessie	Aberdeen	23-2-1861	WM-shopkeeper	6
Sibbald	Euphemia	Govan	1856	Shipyard clerk	5
Sim	Catherine H.	Govan	1878	Buildings Inspector	4

Sime	Jane	Dundee	-	-	5
Simpson	Elsie	Aberdeen	1859	-	7
Simpson	Helen	Govan	1866	Engineer	
Simpson	Jane	Dundee	1866	Shipmaster	4,6
Simpson	Martha	Govan	1859	Engineer	3
Sinclair	Isabella	Aberdeen	-	-	5
Sinclair	Margaret	Kildonan	-	-	5
Singer	Annie	Aberdeen	1840	Railway labourer	5, Conc
Singer	Caroline	Aberdeen	1872	F-granite worker M-headmistress	5
Skea	Isabella L.	Aberdeen	16-1-1845	Tenant farmer	3, 4, 5, 6, Conc.
Skinner	Isabella	Dundee	1843	Mill manager	6
Slessor	Mary	Dundee	1848	Shoemaker	1
Small	Charlotte	Dundee	1867	Road labourer	4
Smart	Eliana	Dundee	1858	Baker	6
Smith	C	Dundee	-	-	5
Smith	Catherine	Edinburgh	1834	Marblecutter	3
Smith	Christina	Dundee	1855	-	5
Smith	Elizabeth	Govan	1839	Market gardener	5
Smith	Jessie	Dundee	-	-	6
Smith	Margaret	-	1881	-	7
Smith	Marion	Govan	-	Market Gardener	
Smith	Mary Jane	Edinburgh	-	-	7
Smith	Miss	Dundee	-	-	5
Smith	Susanna	-	-	-	7
Soutar	Nellie	Dundee	1868	WM- lets apartments	3
Soutar	Rachel	Aberdeen	-	-	4
Spalding	Jane	Aberdeen	15-11- 1840	Gardener	6
Spence	Helen	-		Tailor	Intro, Conc.
Spence	Isabella	Dundee	1854	Draper	2, Conc.
Stephen	Mary M.	Aberdeen	1861	Cattle dealer	5
Stevens	Williamina	Dundee	15-5-1857	Carver and gilder	5
Stevenson	Flora	Edinburgh	1839	Merchant	2
Stevenson	Marion	Govan	1845	-	6
Stewart	Anne	Dundee	-	-	6
Stewart	Maggie	Dundee	-	-	3
Stewart	Mary Ann	Dundee	-	-	1
Strachan	Jane	Aberdeen	-	-	2
Strachan	Williamina	Aberdeen	1862	-	5
Strain	Rose	-	-	-	7
Struthers	Christina	-	-	-	5

Stuart	Mary	Aberdeen	-	-	4
Sucas	Franceska	-	-	-	7
Sutherland	Annie	Govan	2-2-1845	-	6
Sutherland	Annie	Kildonan	1866	Fisherman	3
Sutherland	C.	Kildonan	-	-	5
Sutherland	Ester	Kildonan	1865	Farmer	5
Sutherland	Isabella	Kildonan	1865	Crofter	3
Sutherland	Jane	Aberdeen	-	-	6
Sutherland	Jessie	Kildonan	-	-	5
Sutherland	Louisa	Kildonan	1866	Crofter	3
Sutherland	Margaret	Aberdeen	18-6-1852	House carpenter	6
Sutherland	Miss	Kildonan	-	-	2
Sutherland	Miss	Kildonan	-	-	5
Sutherland	Rose Ann	Dundee	1887	Jute worker	2
Sutherland	Sarah	Kildonan	1866	Fishcurer	3
Swanston	Mary	Edinburgh	-	Bootmaker	6
Tarbat	Jessie	Dundee	1868	Chelsea Pensioner	6
Tarbat	Mary Ann	Dundee	1863	Chelsea Pensioner	6
Taylor	Monica	-	1877	-	7
Taylor	Violet	Dundee	1842	Dairyman	6
Thomson	Jeannie	Aberdeen	1869	Schoolmaster	4
Tierney	Mary	-	1879	-	7
Tomory	Louise	Aberdeen	-	-	5
Trail	Agnes Xavier	Edinburgh	1798	Church Minister	7
Turbayne	Maggie	Govan	5-5-1845	Grocer	6
Vallance	Grace	Edinburgh	1836	Baker	6
Vollar	Mary Ann	Aberdeen	1843	Shipmaster	4
Walker	Agnes	Aberdeen	1850	Plasterer	2
Wallace	Miss	Kildonan	-	-	5
Walsh	Josephine	-	1881	-	7
Warrack	Harriet	Aberdeen	1825	Commission Agent	3
Watt	Mrs	Govan	-	-	2
Webster	Agnes	Aberdeen	1826	Farmer	5, 6
Webster	Agnes	Dundee	-	-	4
Webster	Margaret	Aberdeen	1876	Granite merchant	4
Webster	Matilda	Aberdeen	1879	Granite merchant	4
Westwood	Agnes	Edinburgh	1882	Millwright	4
Whalley	Mary	-	1881	-	7
Whittet	Ella/Ellen	Dundee	1865	Teacher	6
Wilkie	Anna Bella	Dundee	1877	Wine & Spirit merchant	4
Winchester	Georgina	-	1878	Ship's carpenter	7
Wiseman	Barbara	-	1882	-	7
Wishart	Lizzie	-	1881	-	7
Woodward	Alice G.	Aberdeen	1868	-	7
Wright	Jane G.	Aberdeen	25-8-1850	Farmer	5
York	Florence	-	1881	-	7

Young	Euphemia	Dundee	1846	Master mariner	5
Young	Jane	-	-	-	7
Young	Mary	-	-	-	7
Young	Ruth	Dundee	1884	Flax merchant	2
Yuill	Maggie	Govan	19-5-1853	Schoolmaster	6
Yule	Euphemia C.	Dundee	3-12-1865	Calendar worker	3